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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND



**THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.**

VOL. I.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

FROM THE EARLIEST
TO THE PRESENT

BY
JOHN HENRY

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

VOL. I.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF THE SCOTTISH
MONARCHY TO THE ACCESSION OF THE
Stewart Family;

INTERSPERSED WITH
SYNOPTICAL REVIEWS OF POLITICS, LITERATURE,
AND RELIGION, THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

BY THE
REV. JAMES CARRUTHERS,
DUMFRIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Οὐνεκα πολλῶν
λαῶν ἔσσι ἀναξ, καίτοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε
Σκηπτρον τ', ἠδὲ θειμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι Βουλευησθαί.

O'er numerous people Jove gave thee to reign
To make them happy, and with rule benign
To sway the sceptre and enforce the laws,
To hear impartial and adjudge the cause.—HOM. II. Lib. ix.

Si prima repetens ab origine pergam,
Et vacet annales nostrorum audire laborum;
Ante diem clauso componet vesper Olympo.—VIRG. Æn.

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PREFACE.

PERSUADED that a clear and concise History of the Principal Events and Revolutions of our Country, candidly stated in our present vernacular language, would be both useful and entertaining to its inhabitants in general, and particularly commodious to such as could not afford much money for the purchase, nor a great deal of time for the perusal, of a more voluminous work of that kind, I felt myself much inclined to risk the undertaking,—certainly with small hopes of fame, and still less of profit.

Our original histories are beside me in the Latin language, in which they were written. Though most of them, I believe, have been translated, I have never read any of the translations. Modern histories and documents are not wanting; but the great difficulty is in the early period of Scottish history, which, like that of most nations, lies hid in obscurity and shaded by darkness.

Our Scottish Annals, as recorded by Fordun, Boethius, and others, were long acquiesced in by the learned of all countries, but have been greatly criticised, and, for the early ages, totally rejected by some modern antiquaries, though these have never yet given us a rational substitute. It is easier to discover faults than to mend them.

The more I perused those criticisms and discordant systems, the more I was embarrassed and embroiled. I leave, therefore, those critics to settle their discrepancies among themselves, and shall endeavour to glean, from our early guides, what seems most probable, until I arrive at a period where greater light breaks in and more certainty can be obtained.

There are two sources from which civil history can be collected, namely, tradition and written documents. As to the former, the common belief and consent of the inhabitants of a country forms a probable testimony. The Roman history, according to Vossius, was first collected by Fabius Pictor, 485 years after the building of Rome. The laws of Lycurgus were preserved unwritten for more than 600 years. Though Moses wrote under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, yet he, doubtless, collected much of the history of the ancient patriarchs from tradition, handed down for 2500 years without writing.

It was easier for Scotland, under the uninterrupted succession of the same royal line, to preserve her traditions, than for those countries which were often subdued by invaders. The conquerors would naturally wish to suppress the memorials of the conquered. An old Scottish Highlander, at the coronation of Alexander III., related from memory a genealogy of the Scottish kings from that monarch up to Fergus I. Such relations, it seems, were usual, both at the coronation of kings and at their funerals.

2dly, Written documents were not wanting in early times. Julius Cæsar says, the Gauls are supposed to

have derived their first learning from the Druids in Britain. “*Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur.*”—*De Bello Gallico, Lib. VI.* Might not the Christian monks and missionaries in Scotland have derived historical knowledge from the same source? In the Irish version of the New Testament, I am told, the Magi, or wise men, are translated *Druids*.

In the monasteries, two books were kept, viz. the *Chartulary*, containing the records of donations, charters, and rights,—and the *Black Book*, in which were recorded the annals or principal events occurring in the country. These were first kept at Hyona, afterwards at Scone, Paisley, Pluscardine, Lindisferne, Melrose, St Andrew’s, Glasgow, &c.

From these materials, Veremund, a Spaniard, archdeacon of St Andrews, compiled his History of Scotland, 1076. Turgot, bishop of St Andrews, published a History of Scotland in the year 1098. Although Edward I. of England carried off or destroyed a great many of the public records and documents of Scottish history, still many were preserved. From these, and the histories already written, John de Fordun, a priest, and canon of Aberdeen, towards the end of the fourteenth century, composed his *Scotichronicon*, in five books, down to the death of David I. which was afterwards continued by Walter Bower (abbot of the monastery dedicated to St Columba in Æmona or Inch-Colme) down to the atrocious murder of James I.

John Major, or Maire, a native of Scotland, who became a celebrated professor of philosophy and theo-

logy at Paris, and was admitted doctor of the Sorbonne in 1506, wrote also an esteemed history entitled *De Gestis Scotorum*, with which he intermingled the history of England.

Hector Boethius, or Boece, followed in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and, besides the aforesaid materials, had (as he informs us in his dedication to King James V.) a great many original manuscripts from Hyona, or Icolmkill, procured to him by the Earl of Argyll, and his brother, the treasurer; as also the Latin and Greek authors, Tacitus, Eutropius, Ælius, Spartanus, Lampridius, Claudian, Herodian, and Strabo; finally, Ven. Bede and Froissard. Erasmus, that justly admired critic, learned and elegant writer, studied along with Boethius at Paris, and observes that Boethius was highly esteemed in that city; and, in a letter concerning him, (written in 1530, and which is inserted in the Life of Erasmus,) remarks that “*Boethius was a person who could not lie.*”

Buchanan, that elegant writer, follows, very closely, the foresaid authorities, and had before him the Black Book of Paisley, and that of Pluscardine, which he frequently cites. That author, in the early part of his history, may justly be deemed as candid a historian as, in the later period, he is partial, false, and malevolent.

Are all those histories, and that of the Right Rev. Bishop Leslie, to fall to the ground for the pretended discoveries of modern and discordant antiquaries, and one isolated manuscript found in the King of France's library?

At any rate, I think, those of my countrymen, or others, who cannot have the pleasure of reading our

old historians in the language in which they were written, will be desirous to know the substance of what they have, with much pains, collected, and wished to transmit to posterity. If modern critics and antiquaries have any thing better to bestow, it is but fair that the public should have the opportunity of comparing the old with the new.

I do not undertake to solve the knotty question who, or from whence, the first inhabitants of Scotland were. Abstracting from the revealed origin of mankind, I shall, with Tacitus, leave it undecided whether its original possessors *grew upon the soil, or were wafted thither from foreign countries.* “Indiginæ an advecti
“ut inter barbaros parum compertum.”—*Tac. Jul. Agric. Vita.*

I take it for granted by the generality of my readers, that the north of Scotland was, at a very early period, inhabited by two distinct peoples; the one called *Picts*, possessing the north and east coasts; the other, *Scots*, *Dalreudiani*, or what you please, holding the western isles and western coast. Venerable Bede distinctly marks these separate nations, Lib. I. cap. 12. “Denique, subito duabus gentibus transmarinis vehementer saevis,
“Scotorum a circio, Pictorum ab aquilone, multos,
“stupet gemitque, per annos. Transmarinas autem dicimus, has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent positæ, sed quæ a parte Britonum erant remotæ, duobus sinibus maris interjacentibus, quorum unus, ab orientali mari, altera ab occidentali, Britanniae terras longe lateque errumpit quamvis ad se invicem pertinere non possent;” That is, South Britain was for

many years vexed, astonished, and oppressed, by the Scots and Picts, two oversea nations, very savage, the former from the north-west, (*circio*,) the latter from the north;—that they were not called oversea because they were out of Britain, but because they lived beyond the Friths of Forth and Clyde. This same author calls the Scots *prisci incolae*, the ancient inhabitants, which he could not have done if they had only settled in Scotland in 503, as is pretended by modern critics.

Ammianus Marcellinus dispels all doubt on that head. That historian wrote about the year 360, and begins the first chapter of his twentieth book as follows:

“Haec, per Illyricum perque orientem, rerum series
 “fuit. Consulatu, vero, Constantii, decies terque Ju-
 “liani in Britaniis, cum *Scotorum Pictorumque* gen-
 “tium ferarum excursus, rupta quiete conducta, loca
 “limitibus vicina vastarent, et implicaret formido pro-
 “vincias preteritarum cladum congerie fessas.” Which
 shews that, during the consulship of a Constantius, Roman soldiers were sent to Britain to suppress the inroads of two barbarous nations, viz. the Scots and Picts, which nations, disregarding the truce that had been agreed on, had frequently burst through the limits assigned them, pillaged and wasted the adjacent borders of the Roman province, and impressed a terror upon the inhabitants, worn out, as they were, by repeated defeat and slaughter.

It is objected that Tacitus, in his *Life of Agricola*, does not distinguish and mark the different nations of Scots and Picts, but comprehends all under the name of Caledonians. I answer, that Tacitus lived much nearer

Judea than Scotland, and the Romans had much more intercourse with the former than the latter; and yet, though Tacitus wrote much upon the Jewish people, it will easily appear, to any person who will take the trouble to read his account of them, that his knowledge of that nation was very lame and imperfect. The best history of a nation must, undoubtedly, be collected from its native historians.

That Strathcluid might be a separate principality for some time, is highly probable; and it appears that there were in Galloway, and other parts of the south of Scotland, sundry tribes leagued under their own chieftains, or appendages of their southern neighbours.

Having already mentioned my principal authorities from which I weave the early part of my narration, I shall make few references during that period.

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or appendages of their southern neighbours.
Having already mentioned my principal authorities
from which I weave the early part of my narration, I

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OF THE

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1.	Fergus I. began to reign	-	-	330	25	17
2.	Feritharis	-	-	305	15	18
3.	Mainus	-	-	291	29	19
4.	Dornadilla	-	-	262	28	—
5.	Nothatus	-	-	233	20	20
6.	Reutherus,	Reuther	-	213	26	20
7.	Reutha	-	-	187	14	20
8.	Thereus	-	-	173	12	21
9.	Josina	-	-	161	24	21
10.	Finanus,	Finan	-	137	30	21
11.	Durstus	-	-	107	9	21
12.	Evenus I.	Ewen I.	-	98	19	23
13.	Gillus Nothus,	Gill the bastard	-	79	2	23
14.	Evenus II.	Ewen II.	-	77	17	23
15.	Ederus	-	-	60	48	25
16.	Evenus III.	Ewen III.	-	12	7	25
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10.	Corbredus I. Corbredus	55	18	29
20.	Dardanus, Dardan	72	4	
21.	Corbredus II. Galdus Galgachus,	76	35	30
22.	Luctacus - -	110	3	39
23.	Mogaldus, Mogald	113	36	40
24.	Conanus - -	149	14	41
25.	Ethodius I. - -	163	33	42
26.	Satrael - -	195	4	43
27.	Donaldus I. Donald I.	199	18	53
28.	Ethodius II. Ethod II.	216	16	58
29.	Athirco - - - -	231	12	59
30.	Nathalacus - - -	242	11	59
31.	Findochus - - -	253	11	61
32.	Donaldus II. - - -	264	1	65
33.	Donaldus III., Insulanus islander	265	12	65
34.	Carthlinthus, Crathlint -	277	24	66
35.	Fincormachus, Fincormack -	301	40	77
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38.	Fethelmachus, Fethelmach -	354	3	83
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THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Beginning of the Scottish Monarchy—Right of Succession—Stone Circles—Scots called Dalreudians—Durstus killed—Gillus, bastard—Harbours built—Ederus—Ewen III. profligate—Metellanus reigns at the beginning of the Christian æra—Caractacus—Discordance of Roman Historians—Galdus, or Galgachus—Agricola's Wars—Battle of the Grampians—Roman Fleet destroyed—Refitted, and sails round the north of Scotland—Luctacus, depraved king—Hadrian's Wall—Anthony's Wall or Dyke.—Synopsis.

OUR ancient historians date the foundation of the kingdom of Scotland from FERGUS the FIRST, three hundred and thirty years before the Christian æra. He is said to have been inaugurated by being seated on a marble stone or chair, to which that people superstitiously attached the fate and seat of Scottish monarchy.

FERGUS, by his wisdom, is said to have conciliated a peace with the Picts, to the great

Ante Christum 330.

Beginning of the first monarchy.

Ante C.
305.

disappointment of the Britons, whom the confederate Picts and Scotch afterwards defeated upon the river Doon. The Scottish standard was, it seems, a lion rampant, and beating his flanks with his tail. They attribute to Fergus a division of lands among the chiefs and their followers; the enactment of laws, especially against theft, robbery, and murder; the building of the castle of Berogonium, in Lochaber, for a justiciary court for the west and for the Hebrides; finally, the committing of the public records and deeds to marble by hieroglyphics. Tradition adds, that having preserved peace and order among Scotch, Picts, and Britons for twenty-five years, he went over to Ireland to settle some disturbances among his friends, and that, on his return, he was shipwrecked and drowned near Carrickfergus.

After the death of Fergus a consultation is held, with ingenious argument, concerning the succession to the crown. At length it is resolved, that minors shall not reign; but the fittest person of the royal family shall hold the reins of government, after whose death the heir of the former king shall mount the throne. FERITHARIS, the brother of Fergus, is placed on the *marble*. His regal insignia are a golden sceptre and crown, with a two-edged sword. Ferlegus, the eldest son of Fergus, treasonably demands the crown while his uncle is alive.

Right of
succession.

It is denied him; he absconds, and dies in obscurity.

Ante C.
291.



MAINUS, the younger brother, succeeds his uncle, and, after a reign of twenty-nine years, is found dead in his bed. During his reign are said to have been instituted those circles of large stones so frequently to be met with as yet in Scotland. They are supposed by most to have been intended for places of worship. Some contend that they were courts of justice. Perhaps they may have served in both capacities. It is alleged that monthly festivals were held in honour of Diana the tutelar goddess of hunting, and that certain prayers were addressed to the new moon, which they, with the Latins, considered as the same divinity. Certain remains of that superstition might, perhaps, still be traced.

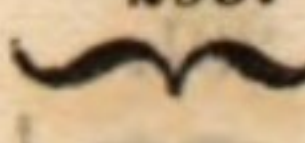
Stone circles.

DORNADILLA was a keen sportsman, and made game laws. He also assigned different punishments for different crimes, and caused them to be written* on tablets by the best scholars, and explained both to the judges and the culprits: and no punishment could be awarded but according to the tablets. He is said to have died at Beregonium in Lochaber, after a reign of twenty-eight years.*

262.

* If this could be depended on, the art of writing, and consequently some knowledge of literature, must have been very ancient in Scotland. The arts and sciences, in many countries, have been often found and often lost or neglected.

Ante C.
233.



NOTHATUS, a wicked prince, and oppressor of his people, was attacked and slain by Dovalus, a Gallovidian, who, of his private authority, raised REUTHERUS, the son of Dornadilla, yet a minor, to the throne. Hence arose a civil war, in which Dovalus was killed, and both parties so weakened, that they were invaded by the Britons, and driven, for some time, to their mountains. Reutherus fled to Ireland, but returned, first to the Hebrides, and thence to Argyleshire. He assembled his scattered troops at Lochbroom, and being there joined by the Picts, under the command of their king Gethus, brother to Reutherus's queen, the confederate armies marched directly against the Britons, and a fierce battle was fought, in which neither party could claim a victory; but their mutual disaster procured a peace for some years. Reutherus returned to his ancient seat in Argyleshire. He is called by Ven-Bede Reuda, and from him the Scots were long denominated Dalreudians. His returning from Ireland to the Hebrides may have led that venerable author and others to suppose, that that was the first settlement of this people in Scotland. Reutherus recovered the ancient possessions of his people to their former limits, and reigned twenty-six years.

Dalreu-
dians.

His son, Thereus, being a minor, his cousin REUTHA was declared king, who applied him-

self with great diligence to the civilization and comfort of his subjects for seventeen years, after which he abdicated the kingdom in favour of THEREUS,

Ante C.
187.

Whose wicked life and mal-administration excited a conspiracy against him, which he dreading, fled to the Britons, where he ended his ignominious life in obscurity. Conanus was elected regent, and managed the government with great skill and prudence, until the twelfth year from Thereus' coronation, who being dead,

173.

JOSINA, his brother, succeeded to the throne, famous for having introduced the study of medicine, especially for the cure of wounds. The knowledge of anatomy and other branches of that useful art, were far beyond the reach of so rude a people.

161.

FINNAN conciliated the attachment of his people by mildness and benevolence more than by military genius. He enacted a law, that the king should not undertake any thing of great moment without consulting the states of the kingdom. After a reign of 30 years he died, beloved by his subjects and by the neighbouring states.

DURSTUS, son and successor to the late king, was the very reverse of his character. He weltered in the basest vices. He expelled his queen Agasia, the daughter of the king of

107.

Ante C.
107.

Durstus,
wicked K.
killed.

the Britons, after having caused her to be abused by the debauched youth which he had adopted for his companions and counsellors. A conspiracy of the nobility shewed him his danger, which he tried to ward off by a dissembled penitence and solemn perjuries, to which, unfortunately, many of the nobles gave so much credit as to accept of an entertainment from this monster and hypocrite, who introduced a band of assassins, and slaughtered the unsuspecting and unarmed victims of his hellish vengeance. Justice, however, did not sleep,—the anger of the indignant survivors broke out in flame. The detestable Durstus, defended only by those who had nothing to expect but the punishment of their crimes, fell amidst his slain accomplices.

In the election of a new king, a dilemma occurred between the oath pledged to observe the manner agreed upon of choosing their kings, and the dread entertained that, if any of Durstus' relations were chosen, a similarity of character, or propinquity of blood, might prompt him to revenge the death of the late king; but, upon learning that his cousin Ewenus or Ewen, from aversion to Durstus, had voluntarily exiled himself among the Picts, and was naturally a well-disposed man, he was unanimously placed on the marble chair.

EWEN I. being raised to the throne, endeavoured to restore good order to the kingdom. He caused the youth to be trained up in austerity and martial exercises; appointed judges in different districts of the country; fought, together with the Picts, a drawn battle against the Britons; and died in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving only one illegitimate son, called Gillus.

Ante C.
98.

GILLUS, having killed the sons of Durstus, with two of his grandsons, seized the government, and reigned like a tyrant. Cadwallus, with the rest of the nobility, drove Gillus from the throne; brought over from the isles Ederus, the remaining grandson of Durstus, who had been saved by the care of his nurse, and sent him to Epiacum, the chief city of Galloway, to be educated as became a prince. A council being then assembled,

79.
Gillus, Bastard.

EVENUS, or EWEN II. nephew to king Finnan, was proclaimed king. Gillus promising the Irish chiefs the Western isles, if they should restore him to the Scottish throne, raised a great army. Ewen strengthened the west coast against an invasion. Gillus having learnt these preparations, invaded the isle of *Isla*, which having wasted with fire and sword, he returned to Ireland. Ewen sent Cadwallus with a great army thither in pursuit of him. Gillus did not decline the combat, but, being

Ante C.
79.



deserted by his followers, fled in disguise to a neighbouring wood, where he was found and beheaded. Cadwallus, returning victorious, was unfortunately assailed by a storm, in which he lost his booty and the greater part of his brave army; by which misfortune he pined in sorrow, and soon died at Epiacum, where Ewen erected a statue to his memory, which is said to have been honoured with incense as a kind of deity. Soon after, Belus, or Bladus, prince of the Orkneys, invaded Caithness and Ross-shire. Ewen promptly attacked and defeated the invaders: Belus, in despair, put an end to his own life. Ewen then turned himself to the arts of peace and improvement of his kingdom. He built two harbours, named, from the rivers on whose mouths they were constructed, Inverlochy and Inverness: the former is said to have been much frequented by Gauls and Spanish merchants, for the purchase of salmon and herrings; the latter by Germans, who brought such merchandise as the inhabitants most needed, and, in return, took martin skins and other furs, or such barter as suited both parties.

Harbours
built.

Ewen perceiving his end drawing near, caused young Ederus, the grandson of Durs-tus, and right heir of the crown, to be brought to him, and, with many wise counsels how to conduct himself in the government of the

realm, delivered the state into his hands, and departed this life after a happy reign of seventeen years.

Ante C.
60.

EDERUS, at his accession, finding all things peaceable with his neighbours as well as among his subjects, indulged himself in the exercise of the chase, by which means he became very popular among the nobility, who were fond of that amusement. While thus engaged with his nobles among the mountains of Argyle, he learnt that Bradus, a kinsman of Gillus, with a numerous horde of islanders and Irish, had landed on the west coast, and were spreading desolation throughout the country. Ederus speedily collected an army, and, passing the enemy's camp silently during the night, seized and burnt their ships. Next morning suddenly attacking their army, he routed them, slaughtered many, and, as their ships were destroyed, the fugitives were taken and hanged as a warning to others. A similar attempt some years after met with a similar fate. The booty, on both occasions, was restored to the right owners. Ederus died in the quiet of his kingdom the forty-eighth year of his reign.

EVENUS or EWEN III., the unworthy son of Ederus, succeeded him. This disgrace of kings, and outcast of men, is said to have led an inglorious and debauched life, with a hundred concubines selected from the nobility, and

Ante C.

12.



with a set of mean and profligate wretches, who, from propensities similar to his own, and hopes of preferment, flattered and imitated him in his vices. To supply the cost of this ignominious, flagitious, and squandering life, avarice, injustice, and cruelty were, as it usually happens, resorted to. A compact with the king for a share of the spoil, secured impunity to thieves and robbers. The best and the most opulent of the nobility, under feigned and false pretences, were tortured and put to death, that their properties might be confiscated or plundered; and in order to stamp and entail eternal guilt and infamy on the nation, he is said to have enacted three vile statutes, rising in gradual turpitude above one another: 1. That every person might have as many wives as he could maintain; 2. That the nobility should have the privilege of abusing the wives of the lower orders at their pleasure; 3. That the lord of the manor, at the marriage of any young woman within his domains, could claim her company for the first night.*

* Buchanan, in relating this last and much spoken of act, improves upon Boethius. He says it was enacted, that the king should have this claim on the noble brides, and that the nobles, as an indemnification, were to have the same privilege among their own vassals. "Ut Rex ante nuptias sponsarum nobilium, nobiles plebeiarum praelibarent pudicitiam," Lib. 4. Boece says, that the two first acts were, ere long, rescinded by the authority of the following king, but that this third act remained in force till the reign of Malcolm Ceanmore, when, by the persuasion of his queen, Margaret, it was commuted into a pecuniary ransom of half a mark of silver. I do not think Boece was capable of forging and im-

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Ewen, in proportion as he gained favour with the corrupt youth by the indulgence of unbridled lust and lawless rapine, was hated by all good men for his filthiness, cruelty, and rapacity. A sense of honour, decency, self-preservation, and vilified majesty, soon formed a conspiracy among the nobles. The worthless king was deposed, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. An incensed individual, in hopes of ingratiating himself with the nobility, or at least of escaping with impunity, while he gratified private vengeance, secretly strangled the degraded monarch in prison; but though the death caused no regret, yet, to avoid a dangerous precedent, the assassin got the halter for his reward. Ewen reigned seven years. Cadallanus was made regent from the time of Ewen's deposition until his death.

METELLANUS succeeded to the throne, no less beloved for his virtues than his predecessor was hated for his vices. He was a peaceable

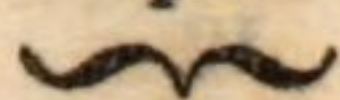
posing upon the public a downright falsehood or invention of his own as a matter of fact; but he might, like many others, have been misled by what he supposed good authority. Whether ever this act did exist, I think very uncertain, that it continued in force for more than a thousand years. I do not believe, and think it impossible that it should, under so many excellent kings, who had both sufficient virtue and power to have annulled it; and especially as Kenneth III. caused the laws to be simplified and abridged, as also some new ones to be added, for the polity of the kingdom, how is it possible that this ignominious statute should still have disgraced the Scottish code? If ever there was such a law, it must have fallen into desuetude. But how this law could have again revived in the eleventh century, or how, without any foundation, it could have been asserted then to have been commuted into a fine called the *Marcheta mulierum*, which is said to have been exacted in the sixteenth century, and the story to have gained such universal credit, is indeed wonderful.

Ante C.
12.



Ante C.

4.



king, and reigned at a time when the greatest part of the then known world was in peace under Augustus Cæsar, and when the PRINCE OF PEACE, the Saviour of the World, was born in Bethlehem of Juda.

This only, say our historians, was wanting to the lustre of Metellanus's reign, that, owing to the licentiousness of his nobles, he could not get the execrable laws of Ewen abrogated.

CHRISTIAN
ÆRA, 35.
Disagree-
ment of Ro.
Historians.

CARACTACUS next swayed the sceptre, and was worthy of it. During his reign, the Roman historians (upon the credit of whose accounts so much stress is laid) flatly contradict one another. Eutropius, supported by Orosius, Bede, and many later historians, say that Claudius sailed to the Orkney isles, conquered them, and carried Ganus, their king, with his children, and other captives, to Rome, in order to grace his triumph; whereas Tacitus, in the life of his son-in-law Agricola, asserts, that before the arrival of the latter the north of Britain was altogether unknown to the Romans.

Caractacus seems to be the first Scottish king who, together with the Picts, and a party of the Britons, measured arms with the Romans; which he did once in a doubtful battle against Aulus Plautius, and in another dreadful conflict within twelve miles of York, where Vespasian in person commanded the Romans, and was victorious. Afterwards, on

the borders of Galloway, after an obstinate engagement, Caractacus was again defeated by Planctius. Meanwhile, Vespasian having defeated the Picts, and taken Camelodunum, is said to have built, upon the banks of the Carron, a temple to the Emperor Claudian and the goddess of victory. *

Anno C.
55.

Caractacus having been again and again worsted in his valiant attempts to preserve the lands and liberty of his country, was at length betrayed by his step-mother Cartumandua, made prisoner, and conducted to Rome, where he seemed to be no less honoured than his conquerors. He was re-instated in a part of his dominions, viz. Galloway, Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, finished his days in peace, was buried with pomp at Caractonium, and a grand mausoléum was erected to his memory twenty years after he began his reign.

CORBREDUS, brother of the late king, succeeded him. He repressed the islanders and robbers, defended himself against Aulus Didius, joined the Picts, and forced the Romans to make a peace, which lasted six years. That peace was interrupted by the ambition of Veranius, the Roman legate, but was restored by

* During this reign St Peter founded the Church of Antioch, where the disciples of our Lord were first called Christians. He was the first Bishop of Antioch, the year 36. In the year 42 he went to Rome, and fixed there his Episcopal chair. He assisted at the council of Jerusalem, 51. St. Peter and Paul were condemned to death by the Emperor Nero, 67.

A. C. 72.



the quiet and equitable Paulus Seutonius. Corbredus again joined his forces with those of the Picts and a wandering tribe of Moravians, in aid of his sister Voada or Voadicia (whose warlike spirit and heroic courage has been so well described by Tacitus) against the Romans; but the Roman art of war, and superior armour, proved an overmatch for all their combined opponents. Corbredus returning home, made the tour of his kingdom, and repaired, as much as possible, the devastation caused by war. He died in the eighteenth year of his reign, and was buried at Dunstaffage.

CORBREDUS II. surnamed Galdus, next mounted the throne, and justified the high expectations of the nation. He is called Galgacus by Tacitus; and that elegant writer makes the greatest sceptics listen with attention and credit to this portion of Caledonian history.

Petilius had already conquered the Brigantes and Silures, wherever antiquaries may please to place those tribes. Julius Agricola succeeded him as the Roman legate; and having mastered the Ordivices and the isle of Mann, aspired to the honour of subduing the whole island of Albion to a Roman province. In the third year of his command he over-ran and plundered the southern territories of the Scots and Picts, and advanced his outposts to

Agricola's
wars.

the banks of the Tay; and though his army felt the severity of the climate, he provided for their comfort and security by building strong forts in convenient places as he proceeded. Hitherto the hardy sons of the north were wont, in the severest season, to destroy the slender redoubts of their enemies, and to regain in winter what had been wrested from them in summer; but the crafty caution and skill of Agricola, by placing and fortifying his castles, baffled their boldest attempts. He secured the conquests he had gained.

During his fourth campaign he established a chain of forts between the friths of the Forth and Clyde. The fifth year, bringing his fleet from the isle of Wight, he made several descents upon the western coast, plundered the adjacent country, and erected several forts on that shore, not only for safety in the meantime, but also with a view of invading Ireland at some future period.

In his sixth campaign, though the Silures and Picts rebelled behind him, Agricola soon repressed these commotions. Sending his fleet to explore the harbours on the coast of Argyle and the adjacent isles, he employed his troops in fortifying the inland castles, and wintered beyond the Forth and Clyde.

Meantime neither Galdus nor the Pictish monarch were negligent in their common

A. C. 72.



cause, or in procuring assistance from their allies. They had even made such desperate attacks upon some of the Roman forts, that the greater part of the Roman army, intimidated by their boldness, as also by the view of the rugged mountains, swampy fens and forests, so entangled with briars and thorns as to seem impassable and impervious, that they began to advise a retreat into safer territories; but the resolution of their general was not to be shaken; and such was the hardihood of the Roman soldiers, and their confidence in their leader, that they braved all labours and difficulties. That winter, being one of the most severe that had ever been remembered, prevented hostilities during its rigour.

In the spring, Galdus having assembled an army from the different quarters of his dominions, and reinforced it by a brave band of Irish adventurers, was also joined by Garnard, king of the Picts, with his army and many auxiliary troops, who were all eager for the combat. Galdus, the generalissimo, divided them into three bodies. Agricola, learning the numbers and disposition of the enemy, separated also his army into three grand divisions, which plan had like to have cost him dear; for the confederate army understanding this arrangement, fell, during the night, upon the division next them, and, having slain the advanced guards,

A. C. 72.
}

rushed furiously upon the unsuspecting legion, and made a dreadful havock. But Agricola, soon informed of the attack, brought round the rest of his army, and encountered the assailants behind. These turning round, defended themselves with great valour, until Aurora shewed them an unequal match, especially in their present position. They therefore betook themselves to flight, and sought their safety in their mountains and in their almost inaccessible retreats; from which, nevertheless, to retard the enemy, and to protect their flocks and small property, they at times sallied forth in desultory warfare. In this manner was the seventh summer spent, hoping for a reinforcement of Danes and Norwegians.

Before winter, the Danes and Norwegians first entered the frith of Forth; but being hindered by the Romans from landing, they coasted Fife, and sailed into the frith of Tay, were welcomed at Dundee by the Scottish and Pictish kings, and wintered at Forfar and its vicinity. Galdus, with his Scottish and Irish troops, quartered in Athol. A German tribe, called Usipi, originally from the mouth of the Rhine, but having been sent by the Romans to Britain, are said to have assassinated their Roman officers, and seizing vessels embarked on the Thames, and roaming in quest of a set-

A. C. 72.



tlement, now landed in the frith of Tay, and joined the confederate army.

Early in the spring of his eighth campaign, Agricola, notwithstanding the difficulty of his march, determined to proceed to the utmost limits of the island. He passed the river Almond, and encamped on the Tay, nearly opposite to Dunkeld. He gave orders also to his fleet to sail round the north of Albion, carefully remarking every harbour, promontory, bay, and isle in their course, that, during his command, the extremity of the world might be reduced under the Roman empire. Meantime, causing timber to be cut down in the neighbouring forests, he got secretly constructed a bridge, which he fixed in the Tay, and, contrary to the expectation of the confederates, passed the river with his whole army, and encamped not far from the Grampian mountains, leaving a strong guard to prevent the destruction of the bridge.

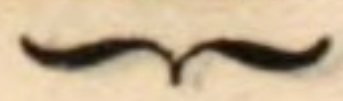
Galdus, with 40,000 brave troops, appeared on the summit of the mountain like a cloud, and, descending to a lower eminence, was joined by the Pictish troops and allies, which being all put under his command, he waited the enemy's approach. Here Tacitus puts into the mouths of the two opposite generals eloquent speeches to raise the courage of their armies; which speeches are justly admired as

elegant compositions. After all, Tacitus, who never set a foot on Britain, and who wrote in Gaul or in Rome, cannot be supposed to have descended to particulars, far less did he know the different peoples leagued against the Romans. His confounding them all under the denominations of Britons, Caledonians, or barbarians, is no proof, as some antiquaries would allege, that the Scotch and Picts were not two distinct peoples inhabiting Scotland at that time.

A. C. 72.

Both armies were drawn up in array by the exquisite skill of their generals; the confederates more extensively, that they might, if possible, surround the enemy's wings; the Romans with great caution, that they might not be outflanked. The onset began by missive weapons; but when they came to a close charge, the known exercise of military skill, their long swords and large shields, gave the Romans great advantage: the cool and vigilant attention, too, of Agricola, in bringing up fresh troops to relieve those who were yielding or sorely pressed, dreadfully thinned the ranks of the confederates, who fought more by strength and valour than martial skill. Yet their persevering ardour and prowess long suspended victory doubtful on the beam. The field groaned under the number of the slain. Night spread her curtain on the combatants.

Battle of
the Gram-
pians.

A. C. 72.


Those who survived on either side, unable to distinguish friend from foe, retired weary and wounded, regretting their slaughtered companions, and carrying as they could the wounded along with them. The confederates are said to have lost 20,000; the Romans 12,000.

A tumultuous concourse of the confederates assembled, inquiring the fate of their relatives. The welkin rang with the cries and lamentations of the women for their lost husbands, sons, or brothers. To prevent those wailings of sorrow from being heard by the enemy, Galdus ordered those clamours to be drowned by shouts, as it were, of joy and congratulation, until the women were removed to a distance.

A council of war, of the surviving chiefs, was held, who, perceiving the rueful state of their diminished army, found it necessary to retire to places of safety. Leaving, therefore, fires burning in sight of the enemy, they retreated to Athol.

The Romans were cautious, next day, in pursuing, for fear of ambuscades; but finding the confederate camp empty, and silence all around, many youthful soldiers of the Roman army went loosely on pursuit: These falling in with compact bands of the confederates in armour, lay slaughtered in the defiles, whilst those whom they had sought to their ruin clomb the mountains with shouts of exultation.

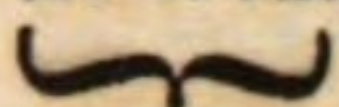
Agricola seeing no foe to engage with, and thinking it unsafe, in that advanced season, to cross the Grampians, collected what booty was left, and retired into Horrestia, *i. e.* Angus, for winter quarters.

A. C. 72.

About that time Agricola learnt the ill success of the fleet which he had dispatched to explore and make the circuit of the north of Caledonia. The mariners had, in their voyage, seen the Hebrides and Orkney isles; had touched at and even plundered some of them; had beheld the *Ultima Thulé*; but perceiving the navigation of the Pentland frith dangerous, they had seized some of the neighbouring inhabitants, whom, by great promises of reward, they engaged to pilot them through the perilous strait, but these, sacrificing their lives to the pleasure of destroying their enemies, hurried them into the gulph while the sea raged in great commotion: the greater part were dashed on shelves or swallowed by the waves. A few of the navigators who had been more cautious of entering into the frith, seeing the rueful fate of their companions, put about and returned with the doleful tidings to their commander. But Agricola, upon hearing of the disaster, observed, smiling, "that he had suspected that Lady Fortune, who had long carried him so smoothly, would one day give him a jolt." He then gave orders to repair the re-

R. Fleet
destroyed in
the Pent-
land Frith.

A. C. 72.



Sail round
the north of
Scotland.

maining vessels, to add several more of the best construction to their number, and to put them under the direction of navigators acquainted with those seas : which having done, they accomplished their voyage, and entered the frith of Tay, where, having found and burnt the fleet which had brought over the Danes and Norwegians to join the confederates, they cast anchor, and passed the winter in that recess,

But the returning good fortune of the Caledonians arose from the jealousy of the Emperor Domitian. Conquests to him were hateful by which the glory of his legate seemed to eclipse his own fame. Agricola was recalled under pretence of his being wanted in Syria, but poison, it was believed, soon ended his career. Discord and sedition in the Roman camps soon rendered that name less formidable to the confederates.

Romans
defeated.

Galdus with his allies first attacked the Roman garrisons, and next engaged them in the field where he thrice defeated them with great slaughter : after which the Roman force being reduced from 60,000 effective soldiers to 20,000

N.B.—From the place where Agricola constructed his bridge, which was opposite to Dunkeld, where he crossed the Tay, as also from the place of his encampment at the foot of the Grampians, where the confederates assembled, and especially from Agricola's retiring with his army after the victory, into Angus for winter quarters,—it is evident how much the late Strathmiglo antiquary is mistaken in supposing that the great battle between Agricola and Galgacus had been fought in Fifeshire.

broken and dispirited, their officers were glad to sue in humble tone for peace, which was granted them on condition of their immediately evacuating the Scottish and Pictish territories, and swearing never more to molest them.

A. C. 110.

Galdus, now free from external war, turned himself to the internal policy, tranquillity, and improvement of his kingdom; suppressed robbery; composed some rising misunderstandings with the Pictish nation; gave his name to Galdia, now Galloway, where he gained the final victory over the Romans, and died at Epiacum its principal town, no less renowned by his enemies than beloved and regretted by his people, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

LUCTACUS, a most flagitious prince, succeeded to the throne of his virtuous father. Scorning the counsel of his nobles, he wallowed in drunkenness and lechery. No propinquity of blood, no regard for the laws, no respect for the sacred ties of marriage, or the honour of the nobility, checked his unbridled lust. Inhuman cruelty, and insatiable avarice, completed his brutal character. The lubricity of the youth too easily imitated the depravity of the king. The whole country became a scene of rapes, robberies, and murders. A conspiracy was formed, by which the king, with his wicked associates, were slain. The king's body, in honour to his father's memory, was buried;

Horrid depravity.

A. C. 113.



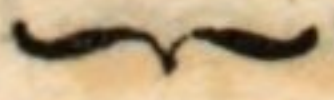
those of his party were abandoned to birds and beasts of prey.

MOGALDUS, the grandson of Galdus by his daughter, was next elected king, and for some time was worthy of his dignity. He rescinded the base institutions of his uncle ; maintained peace with his neighbours ; removed wicked courtiers ; recalled and followed the advice of wise counsellors. He united with the Picts in repelling the encroachments of the Romans, and, by defeating them repeatedly, caused even the Britons to aspire at regaining their liberty. The Emperor Hadrian came over from Gaul to suppress these tumults, and advanced with his army to the banks of the Tyne ; but being more inclined to peace than war, and being told by the senior officers who had served under Agricola, that there was much more to be lost than gained by pushing his conquests farther, he endeavoured to secure what remained, by erecting an earthen wall (which, of course, made also a ditch) from the Tyne to the Solway frith, and so returned to Gaul.

Hadrian's
wall.

Mogaldus, now free from war, unhappily stained his fame, by sinking first into the lap of pleasure and effeminacy, which led to other vices and unpopular measures: Amongst others, he made a law, that the property of condemned persons should be confiscated, without leav-

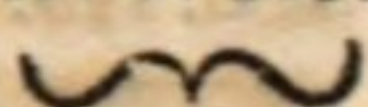
ing any provision for their widows or children. A conspiracy against him breaking out, he fled with a few attendants, and endeavoured to abscond, but was found and put to death, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.

A. C. 149.


CONARUS imitated the vices of his father, to whose death he had been accessory. His depravity was for some time concealed by war. The Britons had broke through the Hadrian wall, and made a plundering inroad into the Scottish and Pictish dominions, and carried off cattle and prisoners. The Scotchmen and Picts passed the barrier in their turn, and made reprisals. A drawn battle was fought with the Britons ; but afterwards, Lollius Urbicus, sent by the Emperor Antoninus Pius, beat back the allies, and repaired Hadrian's wall ; he also erected an earthen rampart between the Forth and the Clyde, where Agricola had formerly made a chain of forts. Conarus, in peace, plunged into and encouraged in others vice and disorder ; spent his revenue in luxury, then taxed his subjects to support his debauchery, and that of his base and degrading associates and accomplices : But the estates, so far from submitting to a tax for such unnecessary expence and such shameful excess, imprisoned the extravagant monarch, punished his evil counselors, and elected Argadius, a nobleman, for regent of the kingdom.

Antoninus'
wall or dyke

A. C. 149.



Argadius governed well for a while; but wishing to establish himself on the throne, entered into some evil intrigues for that purpose. Being, however, taken severely to task for his plots, and threatened with punishment, he, with tears, begged pardon, promised amendment, and kept his promise. For he afterwards consulted the nobles upon all public measures; promoted the welfare of the nation; restrained the arbitrary proceedings of the provincial judges, caused a fair investigation of the crime to be made ere sentence was passed, and corrected abuses, both by the execution of the laws and by his own exemplary conduct. Meantime Conarus, in the 14th year of his reign, partly by ailment, and partly by heart-break, finished his scandalous life.

163.

ETHODIUS, the sister's son of Mogaldus, next obtained the crown. He, in an assembly of the states, highly praised and honoured Argadius, the late regent, made him handsome presents, and in some sort shared the government with him. Making the tour of his dominions, he passed over to the Hebrides, and sent Argadius in pursuit of the disturbers of peace, and having settled all commotion, returned home. But the islanders, upon some rumour of war, broke out anew. Argadius being again sent back to appease them, was drawn into an ambush and killed. Upon this

disaster, the king himself hastened thither, and, by frequent skirmishes, so reduced their power, that they betook themselves to a valley fortified by nature with surrounding rocks and abrupt precipices, having one small entrance. Ethodius profited of their retreat, and placing a strong guard at the narrow pass, and starving the besieged, obliged them to surrender at will ; but having rigorously put to death 200, with their leader, the rest, who had laid down their arms, resenting the severity, took up stones, and hurled them with violence upon the king's soldiers. This tumult, also, after considerable slaughter, was appeased. The country being now in a state of tranquillity, the king went round, as usual, seeing justice administered ; and, as he was himself a keen sportsman, made game-laws, which are still partly in force. Having kept near his bed-chamber, according to the custom of the times, an Irish piper, to soothe him to rest by the blandishments of his music, he was assassinated by that wretch, in revenge for a relation who had been condemned by the king. The regicide, when led to punishment, gloried in his deed. Ethodius being dead, after 33 years reign, and his sons not yet mature for government,

A. C. 163.


SATRAEL, his brother, was elected king. He insidiously determined to secure the kingdom

195.

A. C. 195.

to his own family by the murder of his brother's children and all the nobles who were attached to them, and then to plunder and harass the people at his pleasure. But his wicked purposes being divulged, soon raised a sedition, which he, being conscious of the public hatred, dared not to step forth and oppose. He was privately strangled during the night, by his own domestics, after a reign of four years.

SYNOPSIS OF RELIGION.

IF the origin of our history be obscure, it is so in common with that of most nations. The beginning of the Roman history, though related by learned and eloquent writers, is considered by many persons of great erudition as extremely doubtful. Men in a rude state of society are more anxious to procure the necessities of life, than to transmit their actions to posterity.

Retrospect.

The origin and progress of the Christian religion during the two last centuries we have been considering, that is, during the two first centuries of the Christian æra, is clear and satisfactory.

The birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of its divine Author, are known beyond the power of contradiction; the progress of the gospel, the gradual dispersion of the Apostles, their composing the symbol and abridgement of their belief, which distinguished the faithful from Jews and heretics.

A. C. 1.

A. C. 1
 {
 Origin and
 Progress of
 Christianity
 Dispersion
 of the Apos-
 tles.

43.

St Peter, as we have seen, proceeded to Antioch, and thence to Rome. St Andrew was sent to the Scythians, passed into Greece, and suffered martyrdom at Patras in Achaia. St James, the brother of St John, is said to have preached to the twelve tribes dispersed through many countries, probably also in Spain. Returning to Jerusalem, he was beheaded by Agrippa, a little before Easter, 43. St John went to Asia Minor. His principal residence was at Ephesus: he governed also the neighbouring churches: was thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil at Rome, by order of Domitian; was miraculously preserved, and died at Ephesus at a very advanced age. St Philip laboured in the greater Asia, and suffered martyrdom in Phrygia. St Bartholomew passed into the greater Armenia, and preached also in a part of India. It was in Armenia he suffered a glorious martyrdom, being flayed alive, perhaps also crucified afterwards,—this double punishment being common in those parts, as we learn from Plutarch. St Thomas carried the gospel to the Parthians and many eastern nations. He suffered martyrdom at Meliapor on the coast of Coromandel. St Matthew, yielding to the intreaties of the Jewish converts, wrote his Gospel, the first of the four, in the year 36 or 41, in the vulgar tongue of Palestine, that is, in the Syro-Chaldaic. He afterwards

preached in Ethiopia, as also in Parthia, where he is said to have suffered martyrdom at Nadabar, a city in those parts. St James the Less, son of Alpheus, was constituted bishop of Jerusalem. He was, by the Jews, thrown from the battlements of the temple, received in falling by a shower of stones, and finally killed by the stroke of a club. St Simeon preached in Mesopotamia and Persia; he suffered in a city called Suanir. St Jude laboured in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Idumea; he is said to have suffered martyrdom at Ararat in Armenia. St Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, under the eye of St Peter. He has given us in writing, says Irenæus, what Peter preached. He wrote in Greek commonly understood; and in the year 44, St Luke, born at Antioch, converted by St Paul, attended him in many of his apostolic labours, wrote his Gospel by divine inspiration, and upon the relation of eye and ear witnesses, about the year 55. He wrote also in Greek, and his style is purer than the other Evangelists. St John composed his Gospel after his return to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos, about the ninety-eighth year of the Christian æra. He wrote also in Greek, and principally to prove the divinity of his Divine Master against the blasphemies of Ebi-
on and Cerinthus.

A. C. 43.

44.

55.

98.

A. C. 98.

 False
 Gospels.
 Heretical
 Sects.

Canon of the
 New Testa-
 ment.

Different sects sprung up under the denomination of Christians. The sect called Nazareans corrupted the Gospel of St Matthew ; false gospels were forged, and epistles attributed to the Apostles or other celebrated persons of antiquity. These sects were full of enthusiasts and fanatics, who laboured to spread their systems through the east. All these were condemned by the Apostles and their immediate successors, and separated from the church as corrupters of the faith. The forged Gospels and Epistles were always rejected by the Christian churches as devoid of authority, and not conformable to the Catholic and orthodox doctrine. The canon of the New Testament was formed by degrees. It was not at first drawn up and sanctioned by any particular assembly. Some Epistles were at first doubted of. The different churches leisurely gave their testimonies concerning their authenticity ; and at length, by the universal suffrage of the prelates, and the conformity of the doctrine contained in these Epistles to that which had always been taught and received universally, they were admitted by those to whom it belonged to preserve the deposit of faith.

The magistrates and politicians of the Roman empire, persuaded that the Christian religion, which accused Paganism of impiety, sacrilege, and idolatry, was dangerous to the

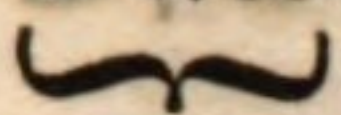
state, caused laws to be made against the Christians. These laws were enforced by Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian. Titus did not press their execution. Domitian renewed them. In spite of all those obstacles, the church founded by the Apostles, unalterable in her doctrine, incorruptible in the morality she taught, made rapid progress through the wide Roman empire, whilst the numerous sects, one after another, sunk into oblivion.

In the second age, Christianity had to contend with Judaism, Polytheism, and the systems of the Philosophers. The questions which had occupied the researches of mankind in vain, concerning the origin of the world, the cause of evil, the nature and destination of man, were clearly explained by the Christian religion. Its doctrines were announced by men of irreproachable conduct, confirmed by miracles, which were still quite common, as Irenæus and others bear witness. Many philosophers became zealous Christians. Amongst these several wrote apologies or defences of the Christian religion,—Quadratus, bishop of Athens, Melithon, bishop of Sardis, Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, Athenagoras, philosopher. Two apologies were written by Justin, a Platonic philosopher and Christian martyr. He shews the innocence and piety of the Christian religion, and ventures, even against the common

A. C. 98.

Defences of
the Chris-
tian Reli-
gion.

A. C. 98.



practice, to explain the Christian baptism and the eucharist. Lastly, the sublime and solid apology of Tertullian was addressed to the grandees of the empire and governors of provinces. He shews the injustice of persecuting a religion without understanding its tenets. He refutes the calumnies raised against it, and explains its doctrines, as far as was necessary to free it from blame, yet without violating the secrecy of its mysteries, which was then so much recommended that they might not be turned into ridicule by the heathens.

References of
the Chris-
tian Reli-
gion.

St Irenæus.

Many heresies still arose. St Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, gives a list of them and of their tenets, in his first book against heresies, and confutes them in the three following books. He mentions the four Gospels received by the church. He lays down rules for explaining the Scripture, and proves the orthodox doctrine from Scripture and tradition, that is, by what the churches had uniformly received from the preaching of the Apostles. He mentions the founders of the churches in the different places, and the succession of bishops in them; and he gives in detail the names of the bishops who have succeeded each other in what he calls the *greatest and most ancient see known by all the world, founded and established at Rome by the glorious Apostles Peter and Paul*; and adds, “By that tradition received from the Apostles,

“and that faith announced to men, and pre-
 “served entire to us, we confound all those
 “who hold unlawful assemblies, of what kind
 “soever they be. It is to the said church, on
 “account of its powerful primacy, that all other
 “churches must conform and be in communion
 “with her, in which the tradition of the Apos-
 “tles is preserved.” He was the disciple of St
 Polycarp the disciple of St John, and he never
 could forget the lessons which that pious mas-
 ter had engraved on his heart. He suffered
 martyrdom in 202.

A. C. 202.



Tertullian, also, that great and eloquent au-
 thor of the same time, confounded with great
 force the heretics of his day, particularly Mar-
 cion, Praxeas, and Hermogenes; and, in his
 admired book of Prescriptions, he proves the
 true faith (like Irenæus) from the foundation
 and succession of pastors in the churches, and
 still sends his adversaries to their origin, that is,
 their novelty. In his book of Baptism he
 proves the necessity and efficacy of that sacra-
 ment. It is administered, he says, by bishops,
 by priests, and deacons, by their order, and even
 by lay persons, in case of necessity, that none
 may be deprived of it. He mentions also the
 imposition of hands, the benediction and invo-
 cation of the Holy Ghost which follows bap-
 tism, that is clearly the sacred rite of confirma-
 tion. He informs us of the frequent use of the

Tertullian's
writings.

A. C. 202.



sign of the cross among the faithful, and even of demons being cast out thereby. He speaks also of the constant practice of praying for the dead. This great man, after having so nobly defended the truth, unhappily fell, at least for a time, into the fanatical sect of the Montanists. It was under the delirium of that sect that he composed certain treatises of morality, in which he pushes rigorism to the greatest excess.

Tertullian's
writings.

Tertullian, also, that great and eloquent author of the same time, confounded with great force the heretics of his day, particularly Marcion, Irenaeus, and Hermogenes; and, in his admitted book of Prescriptions, he proves the true faith (like Irenaeus) from the foundation and succession of pastors in the churches, and still adds his adversaries to their origin, that is, their novelty. In his book of Baptism he proves the necessity and efficacy of that sacrament. It is administered, he says, by bishops, by priests, and deacons, by their order, and even by lay persons, in case of necessity, that none may be deprived of it. He mentions also the imposition of hands, the benediction and invocation of the Holy Ghost which follows baptism, that is clearly the sacred rite of confirmation. He informs us of the frequent use of the

CHAPTER II.

Donald I.—Christianity introduced into Scotland—Different accounts of Severus's expedition—Stone wall built by him—Enthodius, Athirco, Natholocus usurper—Findochus restored—assassinated—Progress of the Christian religion—Donald II. dies of his wounds—Donald III. usurping Islander—Crathlint—Quarrel with the Picts—Adventures of Carausius or Carantius—Northern counties of England ceded to the Scotch and Picts—Constantius in Britain—marries Helen—dies at York—is succeeded by his son Constantine—Crathlint establishes a Bishop's see in the Isle of Mann—dies—Fincormack—Octavius raised to the British throne—is defeated by Traherus—is reinstated by the Scotch and Picts, two distinct nations—Three competitors for the Scottish Crown—Eugene I.—War with the Romans and Picts—Battle of the Cree—Battle of the Doon—Scotch overpowered and dispersed—Beginning of the Monastery of Hyona—Interregnum—Relics of St Andrew.—Synopsis of the third and fourth ages.

DONALD I. the younger brother of the late king, succeeded him, no less renowned for his virtues than Satrael was infamous for his vices. Donald was equally respected for his justice and clemency. By his authority and address he conciliated discordant feuds and wranglings, and reformed the youth by useful labour and military exercise, who, by sloth and luxury, had become lascivious and effeminate.

This reign forms a memorable æra in Scottish history, by the introduction of the Christian religion, though modern critics choose to keep us in the dark for two centuries longer at least. About ten or twelve years previous to

A. D. 199.

A. C. 199.



Donald's reign, many Christian soldiers in the Roman army coming to Britain, Lucius, king of Kent in South Britain, learnt from them much of the piety, sufferings, and miracles of the Christians throughout the Roman empire, from which he was led to correspond with Eleutherius, who then filled St Peter's chair, and obtained from him two learned and pious men, Fugatius and Damian, who instructed and baptised that king and royal family. Many of his subjects also embraced the Christian religion.

Christianity
introduced
into Scot-
land.

Donald, probably from similar information, procured for himself and his subjects the invaluable light of the gospel: for about the year 200 he sent an embassy to Pope Victor, who was the fourteenth successor of St Peter in the chair of Rome, imploring that proper persons might be sent to instruct and initiate himself and subjects in the Christian religion. The pontiff readily complied with his pious request, and sent to Scotland* men renowned for their learning and piety, by whom the king and queen, with their children, were instructed, and professing their belief of the Christian religion, were received into the church by the sacrament of baptism. Many also of the Scottish

Donald succeeded to the throne 199. Pope Victor died 201. Donald therefore might have sent his petition to Victor, and the Pontiff might have issued orders for the Scotch mission, although those missionaries did not arrive in Scotland until the year 203.

nobility, following the example of their prince, abjuring their former superstition and embracing the true faith, were purified in the sacred font. Yet the extirpation of heathenish superstition was gradual, as may well be supposed. The zeal of the missionaries, supported by Donald and several succeeding kings, and favoured also by many of the nobles, had much to struggle against from the passions and deep-rooted prejudices of custom and habit, favourable to human corruption, especially among a rude people, frequently engaged in war, and accustomed to the licentiousness which it too often teaches and tolerates. It is much to be lamented that the ecclesiastical as well as the civil history of Scotland is so obscure. We are informed by Tertullian, Eusebius, and St Chrysostom, that the light of the gospel had penetrated beyond the Roman territories in Britain near the times of the Apostles. St Prosper tells us, that, in 431, Pope Celestine sent Palladius, the first bishop *to the Scots then believing in Christ*. The Irish writers of the life of St Patrick say, indeed, that Palladius had preached in Ireland a little before St Patrick, but that he was soon banished by the king of Leinster, and returned to North Britain, where they acknowledge he had first opened his mission. After St Palladius had left Ireland, he arrived among the Scots

A. C. 203.

in North Britain, according to St Prosper, in the consulate of Bassus and Antiochus, in the year of Christ 441. He preached there, and formed a considerable church ; but we shall see more of him in proper time.

Donald greatly improved the civil and political state of his kingdom, and governed it like a father in mildness and peace. He, together with the Picts, joined Fulgentius a British king against the Romans ; but the confederate princes were overcome by that powerful enemy.

Donald is said to have been the first Scottish king who stamped golden coin, with the figure of his head on one side and the cross on the reverse ; but it is also asserted, not without great probability, that coinage in Scotland is of a much later date.

Buchanan, upon the testimony of Dion Cassius, says, that Severus invaded Scotland ; that the Scotch avoided a formal battle, but harassed the Roman army by ambushes and desultory attacks ; that Severus, notwithstanding that vexatious warfare, the severity of the weather and climate, and his own bad health, persisted in his enterprize, until, with the loss of 50,000 of his army, he reached the extremity of the island ; that he also built a wall from the Forth to the Clyde, and forced the Scotch to make peace with him, fixing the boundaries

of the Roman province where Agricola had traced them before.

A. C. 205.

But Boethius, on the authority of Herodianus, Spartianus, and the Scottish Annals, tells us, that, after having defeated the combined forces of the Britons, Scotch, and Picts, 30,000 of whom were killed, Severus, from old age and the gout, was obliged to remain at York, and sent his son Caracalla M. Aurelius Antoninus in pursuit of the enemy ; but that Antoninus, who was more anxious for his father's death, and to have the whole command of the army and empire, to the exclusion of his brother Geta, than for pursuing the foe, did not cross the river Tyne; yet by the order of Severus a stone-wall was built, much in the line of Adrian's earthen fence, between the Tyne and Solway frith, which Spartan calls the glory of Severus' reign. At length, through grief more than disease, Severus died at York ; and Antoninus, not finding the army complying with his wishes to defraud his brother of a share in the command, was obliged to make a dissembled agreement with him ; and having made peace with the Scotch and Picts, as also with Fulgentius, who with a part of his army was still in Scotland, the two sons of Severus set out for Rome, carrying their father's ashes in an urn, that they might be deposited in the mausoleum with the other Roman emperors. An-

Severus's
stone wall.

A. C. 203.



toninus, soon after, assassinated his brother in the arms of his mother, and, by that nefarious fratricide, obtained possession of the whole empire.

216.

Donald, justly celebrated for every virtue becoming a king, died in the eighteenth year of his reign, whilst Alexander, one of the best of the Roman emperors, held the Roman empire. The Scottish king was interred with solemn Christian rites in ground consecrated by pious prayers and set apart for Christian burial.

Origen.

At this time flourished Origen, that justly renowned genius, learned and pious orator, and ecclesiastic writer. He is said to have been invited to Antioch by Mammoea the mother of Alexander, to explain to her the Christian religion, which she embraced, and that her son, the emperor, not only tolerated the Christians, but also kept a statue or portrait of our Saviour in his private closet. He forbade the Christians to be sought after or punished when presented.

Donald was succeeded by ETHODIUS II. the son of the former Ethodius, who proved useless and unfit for governing the nation, intent upon nothing but amassing riches. Twelve magistrates were chosen from amongst the nobility for administering justice and preserving order throughout the realm, by which means the kingdom was ruled in great order and peace

during that nominal reign, which ended in the year 231, Ethodius being killed by his guards.

A. C. 251.

ATHIRCO, son of the late king, next ascended the throne, with promising auspices. He, in the beginning of his reign, employed himself in honourable and useful studies, and manly exercises; but afterwards became an avaricious, effeminate, debauched, and worthless prince, spending his time amongst pipers, harlequins, buffoons, and such like degrading company, and weltering in the most infamous and vicious gratifications. A rebellion was raised against him by Natholocus, an Argyleshire nobleman, whose two daughters he had deflowered, and allowed to be abused by his mean and brutal attendants. At sight of his adversaries he fled and deserted his adherents. He embarked for the isle of Isla, but was driven back by a storm upon his pursuers, and, fearing more protracted torments, put an end to his own life, in the twelfth year of his reign.

NATHOLOCUS usurped the throne, and governed well for some time, but afterwards became an avaricious and cruel tyrant. Having intercepted a Pictish woman, who was employed to carry intelligence from the brother and children of the late king to the nobles, he kept the letters, drowned the bearer, and, without letting his discovery be known, summoned the nobles upon whom the letters

242.
Natholocus
usurper.

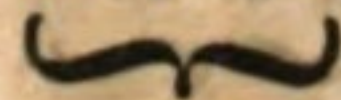
A. C. 242.



threw suspicion, as if he wished to consult them upon some important state affairs; but when he had got them in his power, he loaded them with chains, and, soon after, had them strangled in prison. When his cruelty and tyranny had excited an insurrection, he had recourse to magicians and fortune-tellers, and sent one of his particular friends to the island of Hyona to consult an old woman, said to be skilled in necromancy, to enquire what would be the result of the war, and whether any of his courtiers were laying snares for him? The Pythoness, having communed with her familiar spirits, answered, that the reign of Natholocus would end ill, and that he should fall by the hand of his most intimate friend. "By whose hand shall the king fall?" said the messenger. "By thine own," replied the sorceress. The deputy then began to load the supposed witch with reproaches and maledictions, averring that nothing was farther from his mind, and that her predictions were the effusions of flattery, or the ebullitions of hatred and anger. Returning to relate to his master the ridiculous oracle of the witch or demon, he, on his way, began to reflect that, by telling Natholocus what the sorceress had said, he might render the king suspicious of himself; and if he should suppress the prediction, and the king learn it elsewhere, his danger would be re-

doubled. He therefore entertained Natholocus with such divinations as he knew would please him, until he found a fit opportunity of verifying the witch's prophecy, and then fled to the conspirators, who instantly recalled the three sons of Athirco from the Pictish dominions, and raised Findochus, the eldest, to the throne.

A. G. 253.

Royal
family
restored.

FINDOCHUS, just arrived at manhood, mounted the throne with the universal applause of the nation. He was considered as the handsomest man of his time, and of unexceptionable morals. All this, added to the persecution and danger to which he had been exposed, made him, now that he was restored to the throne of his ancestors, the idol of his people. Nor were they deceived in their hopes. He was affable and engaging in his manners; there was nothing haughty or fierce in his demeanour; he conducted himself with the greatest propriety. His studies and exercises were such as became his high station; and it was his aim to appear and to be the lover and promoter of justice, order, peace, sobriety, and good faith, at home and abroad.

Donald of the Isles disturbed this harmony, under pretext of avenging the assassination of Natholocus, which, he said, was a flagrant crime, to which the inhabitants of Murray and Ross-shire had contributed, as well as the Ar-

Rebellion.

A. C. 253.

gyleshire men. Having collected, therefore, a considerable force, he traversed these districts, massacring the people, and carried off a vast booty to the Hebrides.

Findochus immediately raised an army, and followed the rebels to the isle of *Isla*, where he overcame them with great slaughter. Many of those who fled, in the hurry of embarking, were drowned. Donald's own yacht, by his followers crowding into it, was overladen, and sank with the chief and the whole cargo.

Findochus was no sooner returned home with his army than young Donald, collecting a multitude of freebooters, followed the steps of his father, laying waste the whole neighbourhood by slaughter and rapine. Wherefore, the king, having prepared a sufficient number of transport vessels, again set sail for the Hebrides, where he apprehended and hanged a great number of the depredators, destroyed the castles which Donald, the father, had occupied, and put the garrisons to the sword. Young Donald, with some of his party, fled to Ireland. Returning to the Hebrides, when he thought the storm was blown over, and finding his friends cut off, and the isles in a great measure laid waste, he, by an envoy, made proposals of peace to the king, who consented, on condition that Donald, with the other leaders of the rebellion, should surrender

themselves at Dunstaffage, and submit to the king's pleasure. Donald declined those terms, and subborned two subtle and audacious villains to assassinate the king.

A. C. 264.

These counterfeited themselves to be noble-men averse to Donald's rebellion, and had therefore left the Hebrides. They shewed letters, pretending these had been written by some of the Scottish nobles to Donald. They ingratiated themselves with Carantius, the brother of Findochus, who, it was presumed, through hopes of the crown, had entered into their plot, which they soon brought to issue. The king had gone from Dunstaffnage to a neighbouring forest, to amuse himself with hunting. The two assassins, perceiving that the attendants were somewhat scattered to see the sport, drew near the king, and while the one entertained him with some marvellous story the other stabbed him, and leaving the weapon in the wound, they betook themselves to flight. The alarm instantly arose: Some gathered round the dying monarch in sorrow and tears; others followed and seized the regicides, who were punished according to their deserts. When put to the torture, they discovered the whole machination, declared they were employed by Donald of the isles, and implicated Carantius as being conscious of, and consenting to their design. Carantius imme-

King as-
sassinated.

A. C. 264.

Advance-
ment of
Christianity

diately fled, and his flight confirmed the belief of his guilt. He enlisted in the Roman army as a private; served under Aurelius, Probus Carus, and Dioclesian, and acquired considerable military fame and promotion.

During the reign of Findochus, the knowledge and profession of the Christian religion was greatly promoted in Scotland, by the assiduous preaching and holy lives of monks, called by the inhabitants *Culdees*, that is, *Cultores Dei*, worshippers of God, which appellation so obtained in Scotland that, for many centuries, priests in general were called Culdees. Those ancient Culdees, by common suffrage, chose one of their number for their bishop,* who governed all ecclesiastical affairs.

Findochus was buried in consecrated ground

* The word *Επισκοπος*, which we translate Bishop, signifies a watchman, superintendant, or inspector. St Peter has given that title to Jesus Christ, 1 Pet. ii. 25. The function of an Apostle is designed by the name of Bishoprick, Acts i. 20. It is in that sense that St Paul says to Timothy, that "if a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work,"—that is, a weighty charge,—and therefore requires eminent virtues, 1 Tim. iii. 1. He charges the ancients of Ephesus and Miletus, saying, "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to rule the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. Acts xx. 28. He writes to Titus, "For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain priests, *πρεσβυτερος*, in every city, as I appointed thee." Those chief pastors in the beginning of the church were called by the synonymous terms Apostles, successors of the Apostles, Princes of the people, Presidents, Chief Priests, Pontiffs, Popes or Fathers, Patriarchs, Vicars of Jesus Christ, Angels of the church, &c. From these passages, it is evident that those primary pastors possessed the plenitude of the priesthood, and have, by divine right, the authority and power to ordain the lawful ministers of the church to preside over the inferior orders of the hierarchy, to guard the deposit of faith, &c. Bishop Beveridge, Pearson, and Bingham, of the Church of England, have learnedly and satisfactorily proved this dogma and discipline.

in a field near Dunstaffnage, with all the rites and prayers of the church, at which an immense concourse of people assisted with sorrow and devotion. He was a king born for great things, if his life had been spared. He died in the eleventh year of his reign.

A. C. 264.


DONALD II., the youngest son of Athirco, succeeded his eldest brother, whose murder he hastened too eagerly to revenge. He set out with too small an army, ordering the rest of his troops to follow him. The islander being apprised of this, made haste to attack the king in Murrayshire, before the arrival of the rest of his troops, and, unfortunately, gained a complete victory, having killed three thousand, and taken two thousand prisoners, among whom were thirty of the principal nobility, and the king himself severely wounded, who, the third day following, overpowered by his wounds and sorrowful feelings, fell an immature victim to death, in the same year in which he was crowned.

DONALD III., the victorious islander, usurped the kingdom; and having obtained it ill, administered it worse. He threatened the captive nobles with death if their friends made any resistance to his reign. He was dreaded and hated by all. He was suspicious of every person, and never appeared but surrounded by armed guards. Upon the slightest suspicion

265.

A. C. 265.



of revolt, he put persons to death without a shadow of trial, and distributed their effects among his own creatures. He rejoiced at any misunderstanding amongst the nobles, thinking that was the surety of his throne.

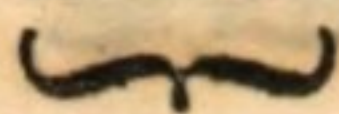
Crathilinthus, or Crathlinthus, the son of Findochus, educated privately, and unknown, got into high favour with the tyrant, and, having formed an association among the courtiers and guards, watched his opportunity, and assassinated Donald after a twelve year's reign; then, hasting with his party, joined the nobles who execrated the tyrant, and put to death about two hundred of his favourites.

277.

CRATHLINTHUS, by the oath of his foster-father, and other certain tokens and evidence, having proved his lineage, was proclaimed king, to the great joy of the nation. He first, with universal consent, put to death the progeny and near relations of the late tyrant, that the wicked race might be extinct. He then, as was usual, made the circuit of his dominions, administering justice, and establishing, in every part of the kingdom, judges, the best adapted, from birth, education, and integrity, to that important office: and having, as much as possible, corrected all the abuses of Donald's reign, amused himself, according to the genius of the country in time of peace, with the manly exercise of hunting together

with the young nobility. For this purpose he visited the Grampian mountains, which then, like Homer's Pelion, waving with woods, and, like his Ida, abounding in springs, afforded frequent opportunity of rousing the bounding stag.

A. C. 277.



Being then in the vicinity of the Pictish kingdom, Thelargus, the monarch of that state, sent an embassy to Crathlinthus, congratulating with him and the Scottish nation upon the downfall of the tyrant, and the restoration of the royal family in the person of the young king, who, he hoped, like his ancestors, would cultivate that amity and good understanding which had long subsisted between the two nations, and which so much tended to their mutual happiness and prosperity.

Crathlinthus received the envoys with uncommon kindness; repaid the compliments of their king with the greatest politeness, and assured them of his hearty desire to maintain the ancient friendship and alliance, by which both nations had preserved their liberty and defended their country against their common foes. He, moreover, admitted many of the young Pictish nobility to join his hunting party: but this complaisance gave rise to serious evils.

The Picts admiring the superiority of the Scottish hounds, were presented with some for

A. C. 277.

Quarrel
with the
Picts.

a breed, by the Scottish nobility; but, notwithstanding this generosity, when the hunting was over, and the king was returning to Athol, the Picts purloined some dogs from the keepers, and, amongst others, a favourite dog of the king, remarkable for his elegant form, snowy whiteness, uncommon swiftness, and boldness. The king's huntsman missing this animal, instantly pursued the thieves, and coming up with them demanded restitution, which being refused, a scuffle ensued, in which the huntsman was killed. The alarm was given, and recalled numbers of the Scotch to avenge the injury. The Picts also assembled in swarms. A tumultuous fight took place, in which fury furnished arms of whatever came to hand. Many of the combatants were even ignorant of the cause of debate. No less than sixty of the Scottish nobility were killed, besides a vast number of the common people. Upwards of a hundred of the Picts underwent a similar fate. By this means a deep-rooted hatred and malevolence to each other, mutual incursions, depredations, and slaughter took place, which had like to have been protracted to the total extermination of both nations, had not a lucky incident helped to extinguish those violent heart-burnings.

290.

An adventurer, (whom Buchanan, after Eutropius, calls Carausius, a Roman outlaw, and

A. C. 290.

Ridpath calls a Menapian or Batavian,—all agree that he was a man of considerable military talents,) who had the command of the Roman fleet at Cologne, to protect the Belgic and Gallic coast against the piratical descents of the Franks and Saxons, but being suspected of malversation in his trust, Maximianus ordered him to be put to death, which Carausius having understood, got the start of him,—fled over to Britain, reconciled the Scots and Picts, and, joining both in league with himself, overcame the Roman party, assumed the purple, and ruled Britain seven years. But Boethius and Hollinshed, in the Scottish Chronicle, give a different account of, and a different name and lineage to this singular character.

They call him Carantius, and say he was the same Carantius who fled for fear of punishment on account of his being held an accomplice in the murder of his brother Findochus, (as we have seen,) and that, concealing his extraction, he had passed for a person of mean birth, but, having distinguished himself in the Roman army by his military prowess, had been deemed by Cæsar and the senate worthy of a command; wherefore he had been appointed by Dioclesian admiral of a fleet, to protect the Roman provinces and navigation from the piratical pillage of the Saxons and

Adventures
of Carantius

A. C. 290.



Franks : but that, choosing rather to engage the pirates when there was something to be gained than whilst they were empty-handed, he had allowed them to collect their booty, but took care to intercept them when laden ; and that, instead of restoring the booty to the right owners, or transmitting it to the Roman treasury, he kept it for himself, and thereby became immensely rich. When his peculation became known to Maximian, who then reigned in Gaul, he gave orders to make away with him ; but Carantius, suspecting the snare laid for him, and having his sailors and soldiers attached to him, steered off with the whole fleet and ill-gotten wealth, and, landing in Westmoreland, made an easy conquest of that part of Britain, the inhabitants willingly surrendering themselves.

Carantius then despatched messengers to Crathlinthus, informing him that he was his uncle, who had been falsely accused of having a hand in his father's murder, of which he was altogether innocent ; that, on account of that suspicion, he had become an exile from his country ; had long been a destitute wanderer ; that he had fought in the ranks of the Roman army in Persia, and, having acquired considerable skill in that profession, had been advanced first to be centurion, then praetor, and, finally, to the command of the Roman fleet :

that by the envy of detracting tongues his life had been in danger, and he had been reluctantly compelled to rebel against the Romans: that he had acquired an independent fortune, had a brave army and powerful fleet under his command: that he had already taken possession of Westmoreland, and had no doubt, if the Scots and Picts would join him, of entirely expelling the Romans from Albion.

A. C. 293.



Crathlinthus, astonished at the news, gave a favourable answer to the messengers, saying, that were it not for the enmity of the Picts, to whose vengeance he might expose the lives and fortunes of his people, he would willingly join Carantius in person, with all his forces; but, at all rates, he would send him a chosen band of auxiliaries. The messengers had orders to make the same overture to the Pictish king, from whom they received a similar promise.

Carantius, overjoyed at the success of his message, after taking proper measures for the security of his army, set out to have a personal interview with the Scottish king, whom he met on the banks of the Esk, not far from Hadrian's wall—and throwing himself prostrate, made the most solemn protestations, mingled with tears, of his innocence with regard to Findochus's death; and having met with the kindest reception and assurance of

A. C. 293.

forgetfulness of all that was past, he proceeded to lay before Crathlinthus a full detail of his plans for expelling the Romans, subduing the Britons, seizing the kingdom, and transferring it to the Scottish royal family.

Soon after, having brought the Scottish and Pictish monarchs together, as also a few of the principal nobility of both peoples, Carantius, by an artful and eloquent speech, persuaded them to a mutual reconciliation, leaving the articles of reparation and conditions of a new and solid treaty, to four of each people, of the greatest prudence and authority: all which was amicably adjusted; and Carantius having exceedingly increased his strength by the auxiliary force of this powerful alliance, prepared to meet Quintus Bassianus the Roman legate, who, at the head of a vast army of Romans and Britons, was vowing revenge, and pouring out execrations against a perfidious perjured rebel and peculator, a base dissembling liar,* who pretended to be born of a royal family, to delude the Scotch and Picts, and induce them to support him in his rebellion.

Nevertheless Carantius, by the secession of the Britons, the valour of his army, and his superior generalship, gained a complete victory, with vast slaughter of the Roman army.

* It is very probable that this allegation of Bassianus was true, and that this adventurer only personated Carantius to serve his own purposes.

Amongst others Bassianus himself fell, as also Hircius, Cæsar's procurator. The Britons, who had declined the battle, surrendered themselves to Carantius, who kept a good many of their nobles as hostages, and dismissed the rest. He divided the spoil among his soldiers, and retained two thousand of the Scotch and Picts as his body guards; the others he dismissed covered with laurels and laden with booty. He sent also with them legates to congratulate with the kings on the happy success of their alliance, and bestowed upon them the lands of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and all between York and Hadrian's wall.

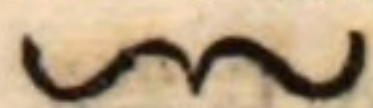
Carantius then marched to London, took possession of that strong citadel, assumed the purple, and wrested from the Romans the kingdom of South Britain, which he held for seven years; and, though the Romans often attacked him, he was still victorious. Some say that Dioclesian and Maximianus associated this Carantius or Carausius as their partner in the empire. He was at length circumvented by the subtle guile of Alectus, who deprived him of his kingdom with his life. Alectus, after a three year's reign, lost his life in repelling an invasion of Constantius Chlorus, in whose person the province returned to the Romans.

A. C. 295.



Lands of
Westmore-
land, Cum-
berland, &c.
given to the
Scotch and
Picts.

A. C. 296.



The Roman province, or a part of it, hating the tyranny of Asclepiadotus the Roman legate, rebelled, placing at their head Coilus or Coël, descended of the ancient royal family in Britain, a person illustrious also for his prudence, sagacity, and great popularity. They were soon attacked by the legate, but Coël with his Britons remained victors, put to the sword the legate, the Roman garrisons, and certain British noblemen who adhered to the Romans: after which the Britons, with joyful acclamation, proclaimed Coël their king. But Constantius Chlorus came suddenly from Gaul with a numerous army. Coël with his Britons bravely met him in defence of their country and liberty, but was soon overcome, and Coël having no hopes of rallying his troops, betook himself to flight; but Constantius, learning from the prisoners the descent and virtues of the man, as also by whose persuasion and in what manner he had borne arms against the Romans, pitying the fortune of a person of such illustrious birth and character, felt himself inclined to make peace with him. He, therefore, sent a messenger after him, assuring him, on his honour, that he would do him no harm, provided that, laying aside all contumacy, he would willingly submit to the Romans as his predecessors had done before. Coël waited on the emperor, who, out of mere compassion,

made a public treaty with him, and allowed him to continue his administration. Moreover to strengthen the public by a private alliance, Constantius espoused Helen, the virgin daughter and only child of Coël. The fruit of that marriage was a son called Constantine, who, in process of time, by the miraculous appearance of a luminous cross in the air, with the inscription 'Εν τούτῳ νικά, *in this conquer*, was assured of his victory over the tyrant Maxentius, became the sole possessor of the imperial throne, the first Christian emperor, and restored peace and tranquillity to the church, as we shall see afterwards.

A. C. 296.

Constantius, by advice of many of the nobility in the province, prepared an expedition against the Scotch and Picts, which some say he successfully executed; others tell us he was prevented by sickness, and died at York. His ashes were transported to Rome in 306. This emperor distinguished himself by his valour and prudence. He, however, divorced Helen, and married Theodore or Fausta, daughter of Maximian Hercules, the colleague of Dioclesian. By Fausta he had six children, but on his deathbed declared his son Constantine his successor, who was acknowledged as such by the army immediately after his father expired. Constantius is represented as a person of great moderation and of agreeable manners; yet it is

A. C. 296.



alleged that he at least suffered the Christians to be persecuted: and as many Christians, flying from the cruelty of Dioclesian, had come to Scotland, and by their zealous labours, and pure and exemplary lives, contributed much to the propagation of the Christian faith, so during the government of Constantius Chlorus many fled to the protection of Crathlinthus, who received them with great humanity and kindness. Moreover, having destroyed the Druidical temples in the isle of Mann, which was then a part of the Scottish kingdom, he built there a stately church for the accommodation of the pious refugees, which church he adorned with great magnificence, especially the altar. He presented it with chalices, patens, candlesticks of gold and silver, together with every appurtenance for the divine service. This church was dedicated to our blessed Saviour; and Mr Keith derives its name, *Soderensis*, from the Greek word Σωτηρ, *Soter*, i. e. Saviour, but others suppose that appellation to have arisen from Soder, the name of the village where it was built.

This church is said to have been the first, belonging to the Scottish nation, which was solemnly consecrated by Christian rites, and appointed as a fixed Episcopal see. Amphibalus, a Briton, was its first bishop, a man of singular learning and piety, and by his preaching,

together with the zeal and labours of Modocus, Priscus, Calanus, Terranus, Ambianus, Carnocus, and other Culdees, Christian knowledge was widely disseminated through Scotland.

A. C. 501.

Crathlinthus, whose name is justly renowned by posterity for the improvements, civil and religious, which he promoted in Scotland during his sovereignty, died in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, sincerely revered and regretted by his subjects.

FINCORMACK, cousin to the late king, succeeded him on the Scottish throne. [The Britons hating the tyranny of Maximian Hercules, rebelled against him, and raised Octavius, (descended from a British father and a Roman mother) to the supreme command, by whom Maximian was worsted.

Traherus, a man of consular dignity, was next sent by Constantine, who, after many engagements, totally defeated Octavius, and forced him to flee with the wreck of his army to Scotland. Traherus, elated by his victory, demanded of Fincormack to deliver up Octavius, otherwise he would hold him an enemy of Cæsar and the Roman people. Fincormack replied, that he had received Octavius, not as obnoxious to the Romans, but as an ancient friend and ally; that it would ill become the honour of a king to give up a person who,

Fincormack pleads the laws of hospitality.

A. C. 301.

Battle
against the
Romans
gained by
the Scotch
and Picts.

trusting to the faith of an ally, had fled to his protection, and was under the asylum of his hospitality, and not only shamefully to throw him out, but also to surrender him to an enemy for certain destruction ; that if Traherus were disposed to make war upon him for refusing to violate the law of nations in betraying his guest, he should meet with a proper reception, and he had better compare the glory which the Romans had gained, with the shame and loss they had sustained in former wars with the Scottish nation. Traherus, enraged at this spirited answer, immediately led his army into Westmoreland, where Fincormack soon met him with an army composed of 30,000 Scotch, 20,000 Picts, and 10,000 Britons. The battle was bloody, and the victory seemed to lean to the Romans, had they not observed a vast number of the country people on the summit of a neighbouring hill driving away their herds and flocks, lest they might fall into the hands of the enemy, and which the Romans mistook for a reinforcement for the Scottish army ; and this apprehension struck them with a panic, and procured for the allies, already faint and weary, a joyful victory, though with the loss of 15,000 slain. The vanquished lost 16,000. Traherus the legate was obliged to flee, first to the isle of Wight, and afterwards to Gaul.

Octavius in the meantime reigned over the Britons, who, inflated with success, and with the will and consent of their leader, attempted to drive the Scotch and Picts from their possessions on the south of Hadrian's wall, which he had already confirmed to them by treaty. But the Scotch and Picts, detesting this perfidy, and despising the enemy's force, drove them back with loss and shame. Traherus also returning with two Roman legions, and 20,000 auxiliaries, in three successive battles totally discomfited Octavius, who, having lost the friendship of his late allies, fled to Norway; but fortune having again deserted Traherus, Octavius was reinstated in his kingdom, and had so profited of his adversity as to make ample amends to the Scots and Picts for his former perfidy and ingratitude; and, besides presents, willingly ceded to them all the territories which Carantius or Carausius had formerly granted them. He continued ever after an excellent prince and a good neighbour, but in his old age was obliged to submit as tributary to the Roman power.

Fincormack, illustrious by military fame, and for the civilization of his kingdom, also greatly promoted the knowledge and observance of the Christian religion, both by his zeal and example; he was likewise much assisted in this laudable work by many learned and

A. C. 301.

Octavius
reinstated.

A. C. 348.


pious Culdees or priests from the Britons, who, influenced by no worldly prospects, but purely for the love of God and zeal for the salvation of their neighbours, forsook their country and friends, and led a poor, austere, and laborious life, to extend the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the light of the gospel. Fincormack closed a long and prosperous reign of forty-seven years, in the year 348.

I must here put my readers in mind, that about this period the Scottish nation began to be mentioned under that denomination as an ally of the Picts, and combined with them in their incursions into the Roman province. The names and distinction of those two peoples, which Tacitus had not taken notice of, and which probably he did not know, is now clearly marked by Ammianus Marcellinus; and it is obvious that they could not now be characterised and represented as two distinct peoples, joined in league with each other against a common enemy, unless they had, for some considerable time, inhabited the country of which we now find them in possession. Constans made an expedition against the Scotch and Picts, 343; and the year before Constantius's death, Julian sent over Lupicinus, a man celebrated for his military talents, to defend the province against the same invaders.

Scotch and
Picts clearly
mentioned
by Am-
mianus
Marcellinus

Fincormack left two sons, Eugenius, eighteen years of age, and Ethodius, a year younger. But these, according to the existing laws, were kept under tutors, as being immature for government. This gave occasion to a warm rivalship among three competitors for the crown. These were three cousins, Romachus, Angusianus, and Fethelmachus, the sons of three brothers of the former king Crathlinthus. Romachus was the eldest brother's son, and his mother was of the royal Pictish family. He was a man of acute parts and versatility of genius, though somewhat haughty, of unpolished manners, and exceptionable morals. Angus, or Æneas, was more advanced in age, and had greater knowledge of men, and more experience in state affairs. He was, moreover, of easy access, sweet dispositions, and exemplary in his conduct. Finally, he had the suffrage of his cousin Fethelmachus, who was, at first, a competitor himself.

The nation was divided into two factions, and the blood of the nation must needs decide who had the right to rule over it.

Romachus, by his relationship with the Picts, drew a great many of that people to his party. Angus had, by much, the greater favour of his countrymen, and, being desirous to avoid bloodshed, expostulated with the Pictish king rather to conciliate a peace than be

A. C. 548.

Contention
and civil
war.

A. C. 348.



the abettor of a war destructive to both peoples. His remonstrances were vain: the parties met in arms. Angus was defeated, and fled to the Hebrides, and thence to Ireland. Romachus proved a cruel and vengeful tyrant. The nobility conspired against him, and cut off his head, which was carried round and shewn as a joyful spectacle to the people, in the third year of his reign.

351.

ANGUS, by universal suffrage, was recalled, and inaugurated on the marble chair. The instruments of Romachus's cruelty and avarice, apprehensive of danger, fled to Nectanus king of the Picts, and excited him to revenge the death of his kinsman. Angus again attempted to pacify the Picts, representing to them that the Britons, their common enemy, were looking on with pleasure at their mutual ruin; but finding the Picts, from confidence of their superiority, and exasperated by hatred, were totally averse to an accommodation, he led his army against them, and, after a severe conflict, gained the victory. Nectanus, with difficulty, mustered another army, and another battle ensued, which was dreadful and obstinate,—the one nation endeavouring to maintain the advantage it had gained, and the other striving to recover the honour it had lost. Angus was at length slain, and his army routed. The Picts gained a sorry victory, having lost their king, an ex-

pert warrior, together with the flower of their nobility. Angus scarcely reigned three years.

A. C. 354



FETHELMACHUS, with little opposition, next mounted the throne, but with no better fortune than his cousins. Entering the Pictish dominion, he laid all waste as he went. The enraged Picts gave him battle, and, although they lost the day, they fell not unrevenged. Their king died of his wounds the third day after the fight. The Scotch continued their plunder and devastation. The Picts adopted a wise, though late, plan of warfare, which was, instead of risking a general battle, to defend themselves, and annoy their enemies by desultory skirmishes. Meantime, they elected for their king Heirgustus, a crafty and deep-designing man, who, finding his nation unable to contend with their neighbours by strength, had recourse to fraud. He hired two villains to lay their snares, and watch their opportunity of assassinating the Scottish king. These feigned themselves to be Scotchmen, and being dextrous at throwing the javelin, they got admission to the monarch, who was fond of that exercise. They gained over to their wicked design a piper, who, according to the custom of the times, was admitted, during the night, near his Majesty's apartment, to lull him asleep, or soothe him when awake. One night, after the king had held a cabinet coun-

Fethelma-
chus assassi-
nated.

A. C. 354.

cil with some of his nobles, upon serious business, until a late hour, he retired to his chamber, and when the minstrel had, by a soft *pibroch*, soothed him to repose, the piper, as had been concerted, treacherously introduced the assassins, who murdered the sleeping monarch; but his dying groans having alarmed the guards, the regicides were pursued, who, seeing no probability of escape, ascended a high rock, and hurled down stones upon their pursuers. They were, however, taken, and, together with their musical accomplice, were torn to pieces at horse-tails. Fethelmachus was thus cut off in the third year of his reign.

After the unnatural death of Fethelmachus, EUGENIUS, son of Fincormack, (who, together with his brother Ethodius, had lived obscurely in the isle of Mann for fear of the three last kings,) was recalled, and, by the universal suffrage of the states, proclaimed king. About the same time, Maximus, the Roman legate in Britain, having learned the enmity that subsisted between the Pictish and Scottish nations, formed a plan of ruining both peoples, and extending the Roman province over all the island. To attain his aim, he fraudulently cajoled Heirgustus, the Pictish king, with his people, to renew a confederacy with the Romans and Britons to subdue or extirpate the Scottish nation, their common enemy, as he

said. Having drawn Heirgustus into the snare, Maximus sent an envoy to Eugenius, peremptorily demanding that he should instantly indemnify the Picts for the injuries done them by the Scotch, and to deliver up the persons who had caused those wrongs, that they might be punished according to their deserts: that if this demand were not complied with, Eugenius and his people should be held as enemies to Cæsar and the Romans.

Eugenius replied, that he was not conscious of any injury, during his reign, offered by the Scottish nation to the Roman power, or to the Britons subject thereto; that he perceived no service which the Picts had rendered to the Romans, that Maximus should so warmly espouse their cause or listen to their vain and false pretexts, so as to make war upon a nation which had done him no wrong; that he had no objections that mutual reparations should be made between the Scottish and Pictish peoples, and that those who, in future, should infringe the peace should be fined or punished as the laws of the kingdoms directed; that if Maximus, in conjunction with his new allies, were determined to go to war with him and his people, without their having deserved it, he would trust the justice of his cause to the Almighty avenger of wrongs, and defend the liberty of his country to the utmost

A. C. 354.

War with
the Romans
and Picts.Battle of
the Cree.

A. C. 534.

War with
the Romans
and Picts.Battle of
the Cree.

of his power: finally, that he very clearly saw, that the aim of Maximus was equally hostile to the liberty of the Picts and Scotch.

This spirited answer soon brought a powerful army into the Scottish territories in Westmoreland, which it laid waste, placing Roman garrisons in all the forts and castles. The Roman army proceeded on to Annandale, which having laid desolate by fire and sword, they marched into Galloway in the same hostile and destructive manner.

Eugenius immediately raised what army he could, and met the combined force of the Romans and Picts upon the banks of the Cree. The battle was dreadful, and the river was choked with dead bodies, and dyed with the blood of the wounded and slain. The Scotch, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to flee, and the Romans pursuing them scattered, fell in, unexpectedly, with the Argyleshire men, who were yet only on their way to join Eugenius, and were ignorant of what had happened; but soon perceiving their countrymen flying in disorder, and the Romans on their rear, they, with all their freshness of vigour and boiling rage, attacked the pursuers. Many also of the routed army rallied and joined their deliverers, so that the victors, vanquished in their turn, were slaughtered with terrible carnage, until night put an end to the combat.

A. C. 354.

Eugenius, unable to stand another engagement, retreated next morning early into Carrick with the remnant of his army. Fortunately, disturbances which had broken out in the Roman province obliged Maximus to hasten thither. Hostilities during the interval were often renewed between the Scotch and Picts. The territories of the latter were ravaged with fire and sword. Maximus, though he was glad to learn the mutual destruction of the neighbouring nations, yet, under pretext of avenging the Picts his allies, came next year with an immense army against the Scotch. Eugenius mustered up all the forces he could, both men and women, to the number of 50,000. When betwixt the rivers Munda and Doon he learnt the enemy was nigh, and endeavoured to arouse the courage of his troops, by putting them in mind that they were the descendants of those brave men who had gloriously defeated and repelled the Romans from their country; that that proud and haughty foe now hoped to reduce all Caledonia under their tyranny, which hitherto no enemy had ever done; that they had artfully drawn the Picts to join them, the more easily to enslave the whole country, which artifice the Picts, blinded by some malevolent demon, did not perceive; that they who were so unjustly invaded had reason to hope for the protection of the

A. C. 354.

Deity, whose true religion they professed, and in whom they trusted, having right on their side; that glory, liberty, their dear country, children, property, and all that they held dear in this world, were at stake; that it was better to die with honour and bravery in battle, avenging their deaths as they fell, than surviving, despoiled and wretched, to be dragged to cruel tortures, or to be reserved to cruel mockery and ignominious slavery. He, therefore, conjured them by the memory of those brave ancestors, (who by their blood and valour had hitherto transmitted to them their country safe, their unimpaired and untarnished fame,) to fight with that heroism which became their illustrious lineage and inbred valour.

Perceiving the enemy advancing early in the morning, whereas they were not expected before the decline of the day, Eugenius, with great generalship, shifted his ground, that his army might not have the sun on their faces. The onset was terrible: the name of Galdus, or Galgachus, who had formerly beat the Romans, resounded through the Scottish army to inflame their courage. The Rosshire, Caithness, Badenoch, and Lochaber men, under the command of Ethodius the king's brother, were on the right wing, and were opposed to the Picts, whom, perforated with wounds, they drove back from the ranks into the river

Battle on
the Doon.

A. C. 360.

Doon, and, whilst they were entangled in the mud, slaughtered them in heaps: but being too elate with their success, and intent on plunder, they were intercepted by a Roman legion, and cut off almost to a man. The Carrick, Kyle, Argyleshire men, and Gallovidians, on the left wing, opposed to the Britons, Germans, Gauls, &c. fighting strenuously, almost all fell. All the Roman legions then, at the command of their general, rushed upon the centre, now denuded of its wings, where Eugenius and the flower of the nobility, after prodigies of valour, were almost spent. Some advised Eugenius to save his precious life for better fortune; but he, like the valiant Judas Machabeus, chose rather to die manfully than to stain his glory, and fell transpierced with wounds: the greater part of the nobility followed the example and shared the fate of their prince.

The peasantry, appointed to protect the baggage, disputed, though in vain, with the victorious army. They sold their lives as dear as they could, and fell with their fallen countrymen. Nay, even the old men and women who had been left at home, solicitous for the fate of their offspring, followed at a distance, and snatching up the weapons that lay scattered on the fields, attacked the Roman soldiers who were in pursuit of the few who had es-

A. C. 360.

caped, and, forgetful of age and sex, (vociferating execrations and reproaches which the neighbouring hills resounded to the furious clamour of their despair,) they attempted an unequal fight, and, refusing quarter, sunk amidst the ruins of their country.

“How doth Scotia sit solitary that was full of
“people, the princess of provinces made tribu-
“tary. Weeping she wept, and her tears are
“on her cheeks. There is none to comfort
“her.”—*Lam.*

The din of battle ceased, but the mountains and hollow rocks re-echoed the lamentations of the wounded and the moans of the dying. Eugenius, after an unfortunate reign of three years, lost his kingdom with his life. His body was sought for, and his funeral performed with all the pomp and honours of Roman princes. Maximus himself pronounced his panegyric. Ethodius, who was found half dead, and covered with wounds, was committed to the care of the best medical skill, and the few remaining inhabitants were received as subjects of the Roman empire, and suffered to live in peace and the enjoyment of their property: but the malice of the Picts was not yet satiated, and, by bribes, they induced the unwilling general to extirpate or banish the whole Scottish race. Many ladies, whose lords had fallen on the late unfortunate day, besought the victor, with tears, that they might be allowed to spend the

A. C. 360.

remainder of their sorrowful days in servitude, since no better fortune was their lot, near the place where their husbands, sons, and brothers were buried; that they might there bewail their loss* in grief, and pray for their souls until they were entombed with them: But this reasonable request being laid before the Picts could not be granted, which made the legate detest the cruelty of the Picts, though by bribery he consented to it.

Cantandris, the royal widow of the slain Eugenius, being found by the Roman scouts, almost expiring with grief at the tomb of her late husband, and attended only by her maids and one male servant, was forthwith carried to the commander. Maximus reflecting on the uncertainty of human lot, and commiserating the condition of this unfortunate lady, went out to meet her, and raising her gently from his knees, whither she had thrown herself, with a mild and consolatory accent bade her be of better cheer, that he would be a brother to her, and do what in him lay to alleviate her distress. Meantime he afforded all that decently became her rank, and assigned her Caractonium, an ancient royal city, for her residence, with whatever appointments she could wish

* *Haud aliud se optare testatæ, quam reliquum afflictæ vitæ,*

Viris liberis ac necessariis, pro libertate tuenda extinctis,

Debitum offerrendo obsequium, lacrymis consumere. — Boeth. Lib. 6.

A. C. 360.

for from the neighbouring grounds. Cantandris, though conscious of the high rank she had fallen from, willingly stooped to her servile state, expressed her gratitude to the legate, and prayed that all happiness might attend him. But when she had reached a village not far distant from Caractonium, but out of sight of the Roman camp, she was intercepted by a Pictish banditti, who barbarously murdered her valet, drove away her maids, and villainously robbed her of her equipage, money, and clothes, even the best of what she actually wore. The news of this nefarious action and base indignity had no sooner reached the legate, than he dispatched a party of his soldiers in quest of the ruffians, and having apprehended them with their booty, he in a summary manner consigned them to the punishment they deserved, brought back the queen under an honourable escort, restored her property, and detained her for some days in his camp, appointing proper guards to prevent any one from insulting her honour. Next day the Pictish grandees hastened to the legate, and grievously complained that the soldiers, at the request of a captive woman, their common enemy, had been ignominiously put to death; that such conduct was a sorry requital for their service, who had shed their best blood for the enlargement of the Roman empire, and had

joined their armies against their ancient friends and allies. They therefore insisted that Cantandris should be stript of all her goods, and sent back to her relations in Britain from whence she came. The queen, at this demand, with a deep sigh, exclaimed, "Ah, wretched me! deprived of husband and friends, that my misery must be doubled, and that, fallen from so high a fortune, I am not even to be allowed to serve my conqueror, but must be driven back, in broken spirits, to my parents, only to increase their sorrow and my own. No, brave General! riches, dress, and splendour are no longer objects of my ambition. I had much rather console the residue of my desolate widowhood by visiting the tomb of my dear husband and those of his fallen brave, and pouring out my humble supplications for the repose of their souls,*

* From many examples, and from nature itself, we learn, that, when our dearest friends are snatched from us by death, the best solace and alleviation of our grief, after resignation to the will of God, is the belief that we may still be useful to them by our prayers, alms deeds, &c.—We have already seen that the practice of praying for the dead was commonly observed in the days of Tertullian; and long before, Judas Machabeus, one of the bravest generals that ever took the field, caused sacrifices to be offered in the temple of Jerusalem for his brave soldiers who had fallen in the battle—2 Macab c. xii. 45. St. Ambrose, who was contemporary with Cantandris, in language worthy the sublimity of his genius, the piety of his heart, and the warmth of his friendship, in his funeral oration for Theodosius the Great, prays thus: "Give perfect rest to thy servant Theodosius." And again, "I loved him, therefore will I follow him into the country of the living; neither will I forsake him, till, by tears and prayers, I shall bring the man whither his merits call him, unto the holy mountain of the Lord." Also in his funeral discourse on Valentinian the younger, "Give the holy mysteries to the dead; let us with pious earnestness beg repose for his soul." Afterwards, joining with this Emperor his brother Gratian who died before him, he thus apostrophizes: "Both blessed if

A. C. 560.

than appear amongst my relations in an exterior magnificence, suitable indeed to their rank, but ill-agreeing with my sunk spirits and fallen fortune.

Compassion for the misfortunes of a distressed lady melted the generous hearts of the Roman officers, and aroused their chivalry. They loudly reprobated the unmanly resolve of the Picts; and the queen was allowed to live where and how she pleased, with a salary suited to her rank and dignity.

The Scottish nation were dispersed in different countries whither they fled for refuge. Ethodius after having recovered of his wounds, escaped to Denmark, where he was kindly received: his lady followed him. They had a son, called Erthrus, who afterwards married Rocha, a Danish lady of high birth, by whom he had a son called Fergus, of whom we shall have occasion to treat by and by. The Scottish lands were divided between the Britons and Picts, the latter possessing the northern and north-east parts, and paying tribute to the

“ my prayers can be of any force; no day shall pass you over in silence; no orison of mine shall be closed without remembering you; no night shall pass you over without some vows of my supplications. You shall have a share in all my sacrifices. If I forget you, let my right hand be forgotten.”

The public are aware that the Lutherans in Denmark have lately returned to this practice of antiquity and suggestion of the friendly heart.

“ *Satius sibi inter fortissimorum funera parentando, quod miserrimæ superesset vite peragere,*” &c.—*Boethius*, Lib. IV. fol. 114.—*Parentando* must mean here the continued devotions of Cantandris. Her husband was already buried, and she wished to spend the remainder of her life in piety near his grave. Cantandris was a Christian, and such were then the sentiments of Christians for their departed friends.

Romans. The Scottish priests were equally persecuted as the other Scotchmen by the Picts, although these latter also publicly professed the Christian religion. Many of those proscribed clergymen convened in the island of Hyona, and first formed that monastery, afterwards so famous, and which became the burying-place of the Scottish kings, the chief public record and archives of the nation, and the principal seminary of learning and piety. It was illustrated for many ages by the holy lives of religious of both sexes, who made it their whole study to serve God and to sanctify their souls. The dispersion of the Scottish people, and the beginning of the monastery of Hyona, took place soon after their total defeat by the Romans and Picts at the battle of the Doon, about two hundred years before St Columba became abbot of Hyona or Columkill.

A. C. 369.

It was some years after the commencement of the Scottish exile, that is, about the year 369, that the relics of St Andrew are said to have been imported into the Pictish territories: and though that story be accounted by many a fiction and fable, yet, as it is gravely told by our oldest historians, I shall relate its substance. The reader may give it what degree of credit he thinks it merits from the testimony on which it rests. We have very good authority that St Andrew, the apostle,

A. C. 369.

suffered martyrdom at Patras in Achaia, and that his relics were translated from that place to Constantinople in the year 357, by order of the Emperor Constantius, who had a particular veneration for that apostle, and that these relics, together with those of Sts Luke and Timothy, were deposited in the church of the Apostles, which Constantine the Great had built a little before. Sts Paulinus and Jerome, who lived and wrote at that time, mention miracles wrought at that translation.

Now Fordun informs us, that Regulus, a Grecian monk, born in Achaia, and the father and instructor of many pious persons who put themselves under his tuition, had also the principal care of the shrine of St Andrew at Patras,* and that he, with twenty of his disciples, whose name this historian mentions, embarked at Patras with a portion of the relics of that apostle.

Fordun mentions the names of Regulus and his companions, who were twenty in number. They sailed up the Mediterranean, passed the straits of Gibraltar, according to Boethius, touched at Portugal, and took in necessary provisions, coasted the Gallic shore, were tossed for some time on the German sea, and at length, after a long voyage, were stranded near a harbour of the Pictish territory, where the city and university of St Andrews now

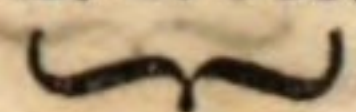
* Fordun, Lib. XI. ch. 160.

A. C. 369.


stand. Their vessel was driven in pieces, but their precious lives and freight were preserved. The rumour of so uncommon and so auspicious an import prompted thousands, and, among others, King Heirgust, to visit and venerate the relics. Regulus, with his companions, came in solemn procession to meet the monarch, singing psalms and sacred hymns. The king joined in the devotion, and, when the service was ended, assigned the strangers commodious lodgings in his royal palace at Abernethy, which palace he is said to have assigned to Regulus and his companions, and to have built a church adjoining thereto, dedicated to God, and in honour of St Andrew, that they and their successors might there serve God in unmolested devotion; that Heirgust also richly adorned that church, and provided it with abundance of gold and silver plate, for the service of the altar; and that hence St Andrew was adopted as the titular saint and pastor of this country, whether antiquaries may please to call it Scotland, Caledonia, or Pictland. This church of Abernethy was afterwards erected to an Episcopal see, but was transferred to the place now called St Andrews by Kenneth, after he had destroyed the Pictish kingdom.

It was long served by Culdee priests, who were succeeded by regular canons of the order

A. C. 569.



of St Augustine. Regulus and his companions are said to have travelled, two and two, over a great part of the country, assiduously preaching and instructing the people in the faith of Christ.

Now, though I do not think myself called upon, by my religion, to believe one word of this history more than the most determined sceptic, yet, as a reasonable man, and even from principles of criticism, I feel myself inclined to believe that this tradition must be founded on something real, and matter of fact, though many of the circumstances may have been added or enlarged,—else why all the incontestible monuments of a particular devotion to St Andrew in preference to all other saints in Scotland? Besides, the chronology agrees so well with what we know of the undoubted translation of the relics of St Andrew to Constantinople, which chronological agreement seldom takes place in inventions of fiction.

SYNOPSIS

OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION.

IN the third age, the political state of the world was in great disorder. The wars of Severus against his rivals in the empire, his vengeance against their friends and partisans, his avarice and cruelty, desolated the empire. Numbers of the soldiers and citizens emigrated to the barbarous nations around, and taught them the arts, and particularly the art of war.

Retrospect.

The military skill of Severus supported him ; but his son, Caracalla, inherited his vices without his talents. Luxury, the love of riches, ambition, and voluptuousness daily augmented. During that age there were more than twenty successive emperors, who almost all rose to the throne by the murder of their predecessors. Contending factions tore the bowels of the empire, as it were, with its own hands ; and barbarous nations, allured by rich booty, made continual inroads, and wasted its borders. Wars were enkindled, which were only extinguished by the extinction of the Roman empire.

A. C. 248.


Polytheism was still the national religion. Superstition, flattery, and interest adored all sorts of imaginable divinities, and classed with the gods the most despicable emperors. The Christians combated polytheism, and set its absurdity in the highest degree of evidence. They attacked also the systems of the philosophers, and exposed their jarring contradictions. The Pagans and philosophers joined against the Christians; they endeavoured to palliate the absurdity of polytheism, and to conciliate the various systems of the philosophers. Ammonius, a celebrated Christian philosopher, formed a project of conciliating all the different religions and philosophic systems. To endeavour to make all live in good neighbourhood and civil society, was highly laudable; but to suppose all religions equally good, was to confound truth with falsehood.

Some of the emperors tolerated the Christians, others persecuted them most severely; yet the number of Christians multiplied immensely; the towns and provinces, and even the courts of the emperors, were full of them; the bishops were respected in the provinces, built churches, instructed, converted, and reformed the Pagans. Learned and zealous men bore Christianity to the barbarous nations. Ofttimes barbarous armies carried off captives and slaves, who set their masters examples of

the sublimest virtues, and imparted to them the light of the gospel.

A. C. 248.



About the middle of this century many churches were founded in Gaul. Saturninus, first bishop of Toulouse, began his establishment there; Bishop Gatian, at Tours; Bishop Trophimus at Arles; Bishop Paul at Narbonne; Bishop Dennis at Paris; Bishop Stremonius at Clermont; Bishop Martial at Limoges.

The Christian faith had been early introduced into Africa, and had made great progress. Whilst Donatus was archbishop of Carthage, before the year 248, a council of 90 bishops was held. St Cyprian succeeded Donatus in 248. He was a native of Carthage, the son of one of the principal senators. He was endowed with eminent talents, cultivated by philosophy and the *belles lettres*. He had taught rhetoric with great applause in Carthage; was converted to the Christian faith when far advanced in life. His eloquent and instructive writings, and his eminent and courageous piety, are universally known. He illustrated his faith by a glorious martyrdom in 258.

The mysteries of the Christian religion are certainly not contrary to reason; but they are above it, and transcend the powers of the human understanding. Several Christians, en-

A. C. 258.



deavouring to render them intelligible to themselves, and to the heathens, adulterated them, spoiled them, and lost their own orthodox faith. Such were Noetus, Praxeas, Sabellius, denying the distinction of persons in the Trinity ; and Beryllus and Paul of Samosata, who denied the divinity of Christ and his existence before the incarnation. Others again, to explain the resurrection, supposed that the soul was only an affection of the body.

All these were condemned by the church, and separated from her communion : Thus the Trinity and the divinity of Christ, the spirituality and immortality of the soul, were clearly and distinctly taught. It is by such acts of separation that the doctrine of the church has in all ages been clearly ascertained.

In the fourth century, luxury and debauchery still prevailed in the Roman empire. Riches, therefore, were eagerly sought ; they were bestowed by the emperors on unworthy favourites, or upon the army, whose affection became necessary when the laws had lost their force and the people their virtue. Learning was greatly on the decline. A languid and affected eloquence was still retained by sycophants and court flatterers.

An ungovernable soldiery, by whose means the emperors had destroyed the laws, made and unmade the emperors at pleasure. Strong

standing armies were necessary to repress the incessant inroads of external and warlike nations; but that headstrong soldiery contained the elements of internal commotion and civil war. Dioclesian perceived the evil, and hoped to remedy it by dividing the empire with Maximinus, and creating two Cæsars, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus. He thought to prevent factions by dividing and lessening their power. Ambition took a more serpentine and hidden course, but was not less active. The commanders warred against each other. Constantine acquired again the whole command, and again divided it amongst his sons.

Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, with difficulty, came to his father at York before his death, and was declared his successor, which deed was willingly confirmed by the army; but the tyrant Maxentius, whom Maximinus had now associated with himself, declared war against Constantine, who marched from the border of the Rhine through Gaul, and part of Italy, by Verona, towards Rome. Conscious that the army of Maxentius was far stronger than his forces, Constantine, though he was not yet a Christian, earnestly invoked *the one true God* to assist him; and Christ was pleased to shew him from what power he was to receive the empire of the world. Constantine, just after he had addressed his earnest

A. C. 258.



A. C. 258.



prayer to the true God, was marching with part of his army, a little after mid-day, the sun beginning to decline, when he, and all those that were with him, beheld, with astonishment, in the sky above the sun, a bright cross of light, with an inscription upon it 'Εν τούτῳ νικά, *by this conquer*. Constantine was greatly surprised at this vision; and the troops who accompanied him, and saw the same thing, were no less astonished. The emperor, long after, declared upon oath this vision which he had seen with his eyes; and Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, the historian who relates it, heard the declaration.

The emperor, during the remainder of the day on which he had seen that prodigy, ruminated upon it, and reflected upon its meaning. The following night he was favoured with a vision of Christ, who ordered him to make a representation of that cross which he had seen, and use it for an ensign in battle. Next morning the emperor arose at break of day, and communicated the secret to his friends. He then called goldsmiths and lapidaries, and traced and explained to them the form of the standard he wished to be made. It was a pole plated with gold, upon which was laid horizontally a cross bar, so as to form the figure of a cross. The top of the perpendicular shaft was adorned with a crown, wrought with gold, and

ornamented with sparkling precious stones. In the middle of the crown was a monogram, representing the name of Christ by the two initial Greek letters X chi, equivalent to our Ch, and P, equivalent to our R. This last mentioned letter was formed in the X chi, and rose a little above it. A purple veil, of a square figure, hung from the cross-bar, spangled with bright jewels, which dazzled the eyes of the beholders. Above the veil were afterwards set the images of the emperor and his children. This was the famous standard known by the name of the *Labarum*, a word of doubtful etymology. The emperor chose fifty men, the stoutest and most religious among his guards, to carry this banner by turns. Constantine caused banners of the same fashion, but smaller, to be made for every legion, and had the monogram of the name of Christ framed in the form of a cross on his helmet, and in the shields of his soldiers.

Maxentius's army, consisting of the united forces of three armies of veteran soldiers, esteemed the best in the empire, engaged Constantine in the Quintian fields, near the bridge Milvius, now called *Ponté molé*. Constantine was victorious. Maxentius's army retreated by a bridge of boats, which he had caused to be constructed across the Tiber, in such sort that, by slackening certain wedges, the bridge

A.C. 258



A. C. 258.

would break in the middle. This was intended as a snare for the enemy, but Maxentius himself was caught by it. The bridge gave way, the boats sunk, and Maxentius fell first into the river, together with his guards. His dead body was found; the head was cut off, and carried to Rome on a pike. Rome opened its gates to Constantine, who entered in triumph. The senate and people received him as their deliverer, and four years after erected to his honour, in memory of his victory, a triumphal arch, with an inscription, "That by the instinct of the Deity he delivered the commonwealth from the tyrant."

Constantine became the protector of the Christian religion; he caused their churches to be restored to the Christians; he built them new ones; he granted many privileges to the bishops and ecclesiastics, but he did not oblige the Pagans to renounce their religion. In a public edict, he declares his zeal to promote the worship of the true God, but announces that, under his government, he wishes that even the wicked and impious should enjoy peace and tranquillity: persuaded as he is, that this is the best and surest method to reclaim them and bring them to the right way. He exhorts all his subjects to bear with one another notwithstanding the diversity of their creeds; to communicate their knowledge to

each other with calmness, and without employing violence or restraint.

A. C. 325.

The power and glory of Constantine—the translation of the seat of empire to Constantinople—his victories over his rivals—the splendid establishment of the Christian religion—the miracles wrought in Constantine's favour,—drew upon him the attention of the whole world. He received embassies from the remotest kingdoms. The Ethiopians, converted to Christianity, asked bishops to rule their churches.

The church, in condemning the error of Sabellius, did not pretend to explain how the three distinct persons existed in the self-same substance. Curiosity, and the desire of rendering that dogma satisfactory to those who rejected it, led Arius to undertake that explication. In his attempt he made the second person, the Divine Word, a creature. After him Macedonius attacked the divinity of the Holy Ghost. Appollinaris, combating Arius, and by an infinity of texts attributing to Christ all the divine attributes, judged that the Divinity presided over all his actions, and denied that he had a human soul.

The opinion of Arius made great noise: he was condemned and excommunicated by a council at Alexandria; yet many bishops, as well as numbers of the people, undertook his

A. C. 325.



defence. A general council of the bishops from all quarters of the world was thought necessary. Such a council was yet unprecedented. The church had not the means of such an assembly under the Pagan emperors. Constantine promoted a general council with all his power. He dispatched respectful letters to the bishops, inviting them all to assemble at Nice, a city of Bithynia. He afforded them horses and carriages for their journey, the same as those who travelled on the emperor's business. There arrived at Nice, in the year 325, three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides priests, deacons, &c. It was an affecting and edifying sight to see many of those venerable old men, who for the confession of their faith had suffered great tortures; some of them wanting a limb, others an eye, &c. After mature examination, Arius and his doctrine were condemned. The symbol of Nice was drawn up, and the word *ὁμοουσιος*, *i. e. consubstantial*, was inserted as the best adapted to express the divinity of the Son of God. All the bishops present signed the Nicene symbol, two only excepted. It is alleged that Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis fraudulently inserted the letter *ι* iota, making *ὁμοιοουσιος*, instead of *ὁμοουσιος*, similar in substance, instead of the same substance. Osius, bishop of Cordova, presided in the council as the legate of Pope

Silvester, together with two priests, Vitus and Vincent. A. C. 381.

The heresy of Arius divided the Christian world, and deluged it with blood for near a century, and then almost totally disappeared, until modern Arianism reappeared in the 16th century.

The question of the day of celebrating Easter, which had been agitated in the time of Pope Amicetus and St Polycarp, and afterwards under Pope Victor, was not yet settled. The churches of Syria and Mesopotamia still followed the customs of the Jews. We see here the difference observed between a decision of faith and one of discipline. In the former, the Council says, *Lo, the faith of the Catholic Church*; in the latter, *We have resolved* that Easter shall be celebrated on the Sunday first following the 14th day of the moon, either corresponding with the vernal equinox or the next after the equinox. But the length of the Julian year was redundant, and the lunar cycle was defective, which made the seasons be erroneously calculated, and sometimes put back Easter a whole month. These errors were rectified by Pope Gregory XIII. in the year 1582.

In the year 381 another general council was held during the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, in which the heresy of Appollonaris was

A. C. 381.

condemned, as likewise that of Macedonius; and the Nicene creed was further extended with regard to the Holy Ghost, by adding, "The Lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who, together with the Father and the Son, is adored and glorified, who spake by the prophets."

In this age flourished the learned and illustrious doctors of the church, Sts. Ambrose, Jerome, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nysenus, Chrysostom, Augustine, &c.

CHAPTER III.

Fergus II. invited by Scots and Picts to mount the throne of his ancestors—returns from Denmark, and is crowned—Battle on the banks of the Carron—Victorinus orders a rampart between the Forth and Clyde—Grame breaks it down—Battle against the Romans in Kyle—another in Lothian—Fergus makes a new division of the kingdom—St Ninian—Fergus joins Dionethus against the Romans—falls in battle, is buried in Hyona—St Palladius—Eugenius II. proclaimed king—His grandfather, Grame, assists him in the government—Fergus defeats the Britons—Vortigern defeats the Scots and Picts—Dongardus—Constantine V.—Congal joins Aurelius Ambrose against the Saxons—St Bridget—Goranus Ambrose, victorious over the Saxons, is poisoned—succeeded by his brother Uter—Uter's amours with Igene—Battle of Alleluia—The Pictish king claims the British throne for his son Modred—Goranus assassinated—Eugenius joins Modred in support of his claim—Battle of the Humber—Queen Guanora—Convallus—St Columba—St Kentigern—Kinatellus—Aidanus—St Columba returns to Hyona—dies—his body afterwards removed to Down, in Ulster—Heptarchy of England.—Synopsis of Politics, Literature, and Religion in the East and West during the 5th and 6th ages.

MAXIMUS assumed the purple in England in 383; and being killed by his soldiers at Aquileia in 388, Victorinus was sent by Theodosius as legate in Britain, by whom the Picts were reduced to the most wretched slavery; cooped in beyond the wall and ditch between the Forth and Clyde; forbidden to have a king or any magistrate but such as were assigned them by the Romans; their young men

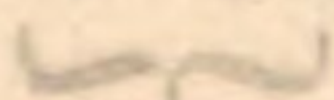
A. C. 583.

A. C. 588.



were called off to South Britain to supply the Roman army or keep their garrisons. They then, too late, began to see their impolitic conduct towards the Scottish nation: and their misery daily increasing, in their adversity (as it usually happens) sentiments of religion, humanity, and justice sprung up in their hearts. They loudly condemned their conduct in having basely betrayed and persecuted their ancient friends, who, though sometimes troublesome, had yet, at all hazards, still joined them against external foes. They had, they said, deprived themselves not only of the assistance, but also of the commiseration of other nations: that they now saw the fulfilment of the oracle that foretold that the Pictish nation should be destroyed by the Scottish people, since their own ruin was the just punishment of their unrelenting cruelty to that people; that their own fate was become more wretched than that of the Scotch, who, though banished, were still free, whereas they themselves were reduced to the most abject slavery, pent in within a wall like wild beasts, and deprived of all intercourse with the rest of the world; that by their sacrilegious persecution of the harmless ministers of God, (as their own monks justly reproached them,) they had rendered the Deity deaf to their prayers; that their only glimpse of hope was, in endeavouring to ap-

A. C. 588.



pease the Scotch, to appease heaven. They, therefore, in defiance of the legate's prohibition, chose Durstus the son of Heirgustus for their king; and having learnt the military fame of young Fergus, the grandson of Ethodius, (who, as we have seen, fled to Denmark,) they began to think of recalling the young hero, who had indeed, by the bent of his warlike genius, and his hatred to the Romans, joined the Franks in their invasions of the Roman empire, and had already become renowned among the northern nations. The Picts therefore despatched a secret embassy to Fergus in Denmark, inviting him to his kingdom, and promising, in the most solemn manner, to assist him with heart and hand in repelling the common enemy. They also, in the most cautious manner, invited the dispersed Scotch from every quarter.

Fergus, thus courted by the Picts, and solicited by many of his own nation, readily listened to a petition agreeable to his own enterprising genius; and, with an ardent wish of re-establishing the kingdom of his ancestors, prepared a fleet of transport vessels, with all necessary equipments, and with a numerous band of his former companions in war, and other adventurers who were ardent to follow his fortunes, put to sea, though in winter, and landed safe in the Murray frith, whither

A. C. 404.


A. C. 404.



crowds of Scotchmen from the Hebrides, Ireland, and from every quarter, flocked eager to join him. The Pictish nobility also hastened thither to welcome him, to compliment him upon his boldness in setting out, and to congratulate with him on his safe arrival at that perilous season. These apologised for the fault of their fathers, which they entreated him to forget, as heaven had already sufficiently punished it, and they were now willing to treat with him on his own terms. Durstus the Pictish king soon followed his nobles, and a league offensive and defensive was made between the two peoples, in which the Picts bound themselves to evacuate the Scottish dominions and yield them up to their lawful owners.

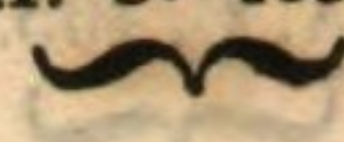
Fergus II.
crowned.

FERGUS then hastened to Argyleshire with a grand retinue, and was solemnly inaugurated in the marble chair, and invested with the regalia and supreme power, as the second* founder of the Scottish kingdom in the year 404.

The Picts readily yielded up what they possessed of the Scottish territory, but the Britons and Romans obstinately defended what they had obtained. Fergus, however, soon

* Buchanan, with great appearance of reason and truth, ridicules those who pretend to cite the authority of Ven Bede, that this inauguration of Fergus was the first arrival of the Scotch in Britain, and says they evidently mistake the meaning of that author, *eos ejus historia manifesti mendacii coarguit*, besides the authority of Veremundus, archdeacon of St Andrew's, (a more ancient historian than Fordun,) whose history of Scotland, down to the time of Malcolm Canmore, Boethius had procured from Hyona, and which, together with many authorities procured by Elphinston, he had greatly followed.

drove them out, and the garrisons, upon their surrendering, were permitted to depart unmolested, to carry the unwelcome news to Victorinus the Roman legate, who, in great fury, marched against Scotland with an array of 50,000 men, with which he encamped near Camelodunum.

A. C. 405.


Fergus, who was then in Lothian, crossed the Forth, assembled a powerful force, and, next morning, the hostile armies met on the banks of the Carron, where a most furious battle was fought. The river was encumbered with dead bodies, and rolled an impurpled stream to the ocean. Heaven looked down with horror on the slaughter, and in pity sent a tremendous hail shower to stop the carnage. The sky was darkened, and the combatants, unable to distinguish friends from foes, were obliged to desist and separate, weary rather than appeased. This battle was destructive to both parties. Next morning, when it was expected the fight was to be renewed, the Roman general perceiving the shattered state of his troops, led back to Kent the discontented and disaffected remains of his army, having left in Lothian troops to supply the remaining garrisons. Fergus dismissed his surviving soldiers to enjoy some respite, and employed himself in the meantime with teaching them the art of war, and protecting what he had gained.

Battle on
the Carron.

A. C. 405.



Victorinus gave orders to build a rampart from the Forth to the Clyde; but Grame, the father-in-law of Fergus, having brought a good many soldiers, in small vessels, up the Forth to the south side of the fence, attacked the enemy at the work, whilst other Scottish and Pictish troops assaulted them from the north side, and thereby drove off the Britons, and threw down so much of the sod-rampart as afforded an easy passage and opportunity to plunder and lay waste the southern district, which the Mecetæ inhabited.

Another indecisive battle was fought against the Romans, with their adherents, in Kyle or Carrick. In a third battle, in Lothian, the Romans, under the command of Placidus, were beaten, which procured peace for some time. Fergus, in the mean time, to provide for the Scottish exiles who had returned to their own country, as also for those foreigners who had joined him and were desirous of settling in Scotland, made a new division of the kingdom, in which a great many places changed their ancient names, and received new ones from the chiefs, or from some promontory, lake, or river.

The king next endeavoured to repair both the political and religious state of the country. He repaired the churches, recalled the monks, whom he received with great kindness; built the monastery in Hyona, and assigned it the

necessary endowments; had a place consecrated for the burial of the Scottish kings," and provided for defraying the expences upon such occasions. He also provided the rest of the kingdom with pastors, and such accommodation as the times admitted of for these institutions. He repaired also the fortifications, and provided for the maintenance of his veteran soldiers in garrisons for life.

A. C. 432.



During his reign, St Ninian, celebrated for sanctity, and held still in great veneration as an illustrious Doctor both of the Scotch and Britons, first established the Episcopal see of *Candida Casa*, in the place now called Whitehorn. He dedicated this church in honour of St Martin, whose tomb he had probably visited. He is said to have converted from idolatry the Cumbrians, and all the provinces of the southern Picts, as far as the Grampians. He had long applied himself with his whole heart to the exercises of the most heroic Christian virtues, and to the study of the sacred sciences. The church of *Candida Casa* or Whitehorn, became a seminary of apostolic men, and of many renowned for sanctity. St Ninian was illustrious for many miracles; he died on the 16th of September 432. His relics were held in veneration in the church which bore his name until the change of religion.

St Ninian.

A. C. 432.

Death of
Fergus.

After various skirmishes with the Romans and Britons who remained under their power, Fergus, together with Durstus the Pictish king, joined Dionethus, who being the son of Octavius, a former British king, had married the sister of Fergus and assumed the purple. Soon after, in a well fought battle against the Romans and Britons, commanded by Maximian the Roman legate, Fergus fell, together with Durstus his ally, after a reign of sixteen years, and was afterwards, by his son and successor, interred in Hyona with great pomp. The solemn office and prayers for the deceased and greatly regretted monarch continued for several days. Fergus was the first of the Scottish kings interred in Hyona, which continued to be their burying-place until the reign of Malcolm Canmore.

Palladius.

About this time Palladius was sent by Pope Celestine I. to the Scotch, *already believing in Christ*, says St Prosper, to preserve or to reclaim them from the Pelagian heresy,* with which Agricola, a noted Pelagian, had infected the Britons, who again had infected some of the Picts; but the Scotch seem never to have

* The chief errors of Pelagius, a Briton, and his colleague Celestius, who is said to have been a Scotchman, regarded original sin and divine grace: The former they denied, and the necessity of the latter. They also affirmed that a man could live exempt from all sin without grace, and they extolled the virtues of the Pagans. Pelagius, though a man of quick parts, and abundance of wit, was a vain boaster, full of pride, and held in contempt all other men. Celestius was nobly born, bold, and of a subtle ready wit.

been infected with any heresy in early ages, however corrupted their morals often became from various causes. The Britons had been, in a great measure, reclaimed from Pelagianism to the orthodox faith, by the zeal and labours of Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, whom the foresaid pontiff had sent to Britain in quality of his legate. A. C. 432.

The Irish writers acknowledge that Palladius first opened his mission in North Britain, 431. They say he also preached in Ireland a little before St Patrick, but was soon banished by the king of Leinster. He returned to Scotland, according to St Prosper, in 441; preached there with great zeal, and formed a considerable church. He was the first bishop ordained and sent immediately from the sovereign pontiff at Rome to have Episcopal jurisdiction in Scotland; but before that time, as we have already noticed, the Scottish nation had their bishops chosen by common suffrage from among the monks or Culdee priests, and consecrated either in their own country or among the Britons. Amphibalus, in the isle of Mann, was a century prior to Palladius. St Ninian had already established the see of *Candida Casa*; and long before either, the Culdees had their bishops, though without fixed sees.

A. C. 432.

St Palladius, by his preachings and instructions, purified both Scots and Picts from many superstitions and heathenish rites, which they had still retained from their ancient idolatry. For which cause, and on account of his immediate mission from Rome, he obtained in after ages the title of Apostle of Scotland. He consecrated Servanus bishop, and sent him to the Orkney isles to instruct that rude people in Christian faith and piety. He also ordained Tervanus, whom he himself had baptized, and consecrated and appointed him the principal bishop of the Pictish nation. By means of Sts Germanus, Palladius, and Patrick, the rites of the Roman church were uniformly established in England, Scotland, and Ireland. St Palladius finished his edifying life and labours by a pious death, at Fordun, a village in Mearns, now Angus-shire. His relics were preserved with religious respect in a monastery built there. William Scheves, archbishop of St Andrews, and primate of Scotland, enclosed them in a shrine richly ornamented, in the year 1494.

450.

EUGENIUS II., eldest son of Fergus, was proclaimed king ; but his grandfather, Grame, had the principal management of the government, for which he was well qualified.

The Roman empire, now fast declining, could not afford such an army as was neces-

sary to keep in subjection the province of Britain, which, with various success, it had, for the most part, retained for the space of four hundred and ninety-six years. The Romans, therefore, exhorted the Britons to resume their courage, and bravely defend themselves against the Scots and Picts; and before they withdrew their legions, they assisted the Britons in repairing strongly the northern rampart, placing towers upon it, that the alarm might be given when any attempt should be made to break it down: But the gallant Grame, who was destined for the destruction of this hateful barrier, and lent his name to its ruins, soon levelled it again, and thereby gave free scope to the Scotch and Picts to plunder and lay waste the adjacent territory. Grame, however, thought it more prudent to make peace with the Britons, which these ardently wished, making the Hadrian wall the boundary and march of the kingdoms.

After the death of Grame, Eugenius took the reins in his own hands; and, as a great number of brave youth had sprung up during the peace, he was desirous of giving a specimen of his martial talents. The claim which he laid to the lands belonging to Grame, his grandfather, in Britain, being refused, afforded a specious cause for declaring war. The war then broke out; the hostile armies met; the

A. C. 452.

Romans
prepare to
leave Bri-
tain.

Grame's
dyke.

A. C. 452.

Britons
defeated.

Vortigern
defeats the
Scotch and
Picts.

Eugenius
his charac-
ter.

battle was fierce and bloody. Victory declared for the northern allies, with the loss of 4000 slain. The Britons lost upwards of 14,000. A peace was then made, on whatever terms the victors chose to dictate.

VORTIGERN having obtained the mastery in Britain by fraud and murder, governed in a cruel and tyrannical manner: Distrusting the fidelity of his subjects, he conciliated the friendship of the fanatical hordes which infested the British shores, and mustering a vast army of Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, he attacked and overcame the Scots and Picts, forcing them back beyond the Hadrian wall. Some say Eugenius was killed in this battle, beyond the Humber; others, that he was carried off by sickness in the thirty-second year of his reign. Although he had been inured to war from his early youth, yet, under the tuition of his grandfather, he had made such proficiency in the government of his passions, that he contracted no vicious habit from the example of military licentiousness, nor even became relaxed in his morals or negligent in his religious duties. His fortunate success never made him the least haughty or arrogant; nor did the leisure or indolence of peace sink him in softness, or abate the ardour of his military spirit. By his steady virtue and natural sagacity, he equalled or surpassed those princes

who have been most liberally educated, and most carefully formed for the art of government.

A. C. 452.


DONGARDUS succeeded his brother Eugenius, and greatly resembled him in his talents and dispositions. Although the domestic dissensions of the Britons with their new neighbours, or rather masters, afforded tranquillity to Scotland, yet Dongardus was always prepared for war. He was careful to preserve the virtue and military spirit of his youth by labour and parsimony, of which he set the example; and he profited of the calm, which Scotland almost alone enjoyed, to extend the pure faith, and promote the steady practice of the Christian religion throughout his dominions: And he was fortunate in his having then prelates, monks, and clergy of extensive learning and science, zeal and piety, to forward his laudable purposes. Vortimer succeeding on the British throne, in order to subdue the too great power of the Saxons, made a league with the Scotch and Picts, extending their territories to the limits formerly granted them by Carantius or Carausius. Dongardus did not long survive this treaty: he died in the fifth year of his reign.

CONSTANTINE, the youngest brother of the preceding kings, succeeded them. Although he had conducted himself moderately in a private station, yet he no sooner obtained the re-

A. C. 457.



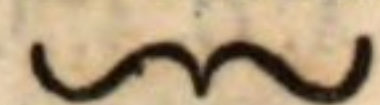
gal authority than he plunged headlong into every vice. He was cruel and avaricious towards the nobility ;—he sunk into low company, such as pipers, mountebanks, and harlequins. He indulged himself in immoderate eating and drinking, and all the shameful disorders that too often follow such intemperance. Virgins were deflowered, matrons dishonoured, and he became a pattern of wickedness, an object of contempt and detestation to all good men. The nobles admonished him, but he despised their advice. The nation was on the eve of rebellion, when Dugald, a prudent Gallovidian, mildly expostulated with them. He acknowledged the truth and the greatness of their grievances, and the justice of their demands ; but the evils, he said, would be increased, instead of being diminished, by a civil war, and the danger of a foreign attack. By such sage reflections, he so appeased the populace, that the king, though hated and despised, was allowed to reign until he was assassinated by a Hebridian gentleman, on whose daughter he had committed a rape. Some say Constantine reigned fifteen years, others seventeen ; and Buchanan, following Fordun, thinks he reigned twenty-two years, and died of a lingering disease. As he was a lion amongst his own people, so he was a deer in regard to his external foes, whom he tamely suffered to make

encroachments upon his kingdom,—allowed them to demolish some castles and surrendered to them others.

A. G. 479.

CONGALLUS, son of Dongardus, next ascended the throne. He was a prince of considerable military talents; but perceiving that the country was enervated by effeminacy, and overrun by thieves and depredators, he forbore warlike enterprizes, until he should have corrected the morals and renewed the martial spirit of his subjects. His first care was to establish men of knowledge and integrity for magistrates and judges throughout the kingdom. He then reformed the court, setting the pattern, in his own person, of temperance, sobriety, decency, justice, and every other virtue. The guilty were punished, law-suits justly decided; the example of the prince was imitated, and the face of the kingdom was soon changed. He joined with the Picts, first against the Britons and Saxons, with various success, and afterwards with Vortimer and the Britons to expel the Saxons, with great valour and prosperous fortune; and finally leagued, as did also the Picts, with Aurelius Ambrose, against the same foe; but being advanced in age and distressed with rheumatism contracted from cold and fatigue in his former campaigns, he sent his brother Conranus, or Goranus, as general of the Scottish army: Lothus, the

A. C. 501.



young Pictish king, went in person at the head of his troops, by which assistance Ambrose entirely defeated the Saxons, killed their leader Hengist, and drove back to Germany the rest of their army. Ambrose ceded to the Scotch and Picts the lands to the north of the Humber, gave his eldest sister Anna in marriage to Lothus, and his younger sister Ada to Goranus—the latter died in child-bed: the former bore to Lothus three sons, Modred, Galvan, and Thames. Congallus, justly renowned as a brave, just, and good king, died of a lingering distemper, after having reigned in the hearts of his subjects twenty-two years. He was buried with great funeral pomp and devotion in Hyona, in the year 501.

St Bridget.

St Bridget about this time received the veil from the bishop of Soder in the isle of Mann, and, after her death, was buried in Down in Ireland, in the same tomb with St Patrick. Her memory was held in great veneration by Scotch, English, and Irish.

About this time also the rogation days, or days of prayer and devotion, immediately preceding the feast of the ascension of our Lord, were first observed in France, introduced there by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne; and, at the earnest recommendation of Convallanus, a celebrated preacher, were received in Scotland. Convallanus was abbot of the monastery in

Hyona, and greatly promoted piety in Scotland, especially among the higher ranks.

A. C. 501.

GORANUS succeeded his brother on the throne. The children of the late king being young, were sent to their education in the isle of Mann. The first care of the new monarch was to prevent internal quarrels and sedition, now that there was no external war. He therefore made the tour of his kingdom, and delivered from oppression those who, from their low condition, dared not even to complain of the injustice of those on whom they were dependent. He employed persons on whose fidelity he could rely to notice and secretly to transmit to him all cases of delinquency, that he might the better perceive the justice and discernment of the judges in public trials.

Whilst Ambrose, king of the Britons, was ill of a hectic fever, and his brother Uter was at a distance, and likewise labouring under a painful malady, the Saxons thought that was their time to repair their losses, when the Britons were in want of a general. The Britons applied to their allies, the Scotch and Picts; but as these were distant and matters were urgent, Ambrose took upon himself the command, though carried on a litter, and victory declared for the Britons; but Occa, despairing of success whilst Ambrose was alive, had recourse to fraud, and hired a villain who, coun-

A. C. 501.

terfeiting himself to be a British monk skilled in medicine, got access to the king and poisoned him.

UTER succeeded his brother as king of the Britons; and although he may be reckoned, for talents, amongst the greatest kings of that age, he disgraced his character by a nefarious crime. Having invited his nobles, with their ladies, to a banquet in London, about the Christmas time, he became passionately enamoured of Igerné, the beautiful lady of Gorlois, who, perceiving the king's passion, and dreading the consequences, set off instantly for his castle in Coroneia, together with his wife, who was totally averse to the king's unlawful addresses; but the king, goaded by illicit desire, and equally insensible to shame and religion, pursued them with a warlike retinue, and having intercepted the lady, (while her husband fled for safety to his strongest hold,) eagerly satisfied his unbridled concupiscence, and, in the usual months, received, as the fruit of that scandalous adultery and rape, a son, whom he named Arthur; and, to complete his guilt, besieged, took, and, under fictitious pretexts, put to death the innocent husband Gorlois, that he might prolong his wickedness, and give a colour or shadow of legitimacy to a son whom he wished to succeed him. When the boy grew up, Uter summoned his nobles,

and made them swear they would allow none but Arthur to succeed him on the throne.

A. C. 501.

This extraordinary proceeding naturally alienated Lothus and his family from their alliance with Uter, who preferred an adulterous bastard to Modred, the legitimate grandson of Ambrose by his daughter Anna, and lawful heir to the throne of the Britons, as Uter had no lawful issue. Lothus therefore united in league with the Saxons, and solicited Goranus and the Scottish people to do the same; but Goranus positively declined joining with a heathen nation against the professors of the Christian faith, or violating his oath of fidelity to the Britons.

The Britons in this imminent danger had recourse to the pious Bishop Germanus of Auxerre, who admonished them to raise an army immediately, and turn sincerely to the Saviour, and they should doubtless obtain a victory over the impious foe. The army was collected, and Germanus, with the British bishops, clergy, and army, devoutly celebrated the feast of Easter in the camp. Those Britons who had been infected with the Pelagian heresy abjured it, and those who had still adhered to the heathenish idolatry and superstition professed the Christian faith and were baptized. All, at the word of command, advanced against the enemy. St Germanus

A. C. 501.

 Battle of
 Alleluia.

bearing the banner, took command of the first line, and, together with the priests whom he placed on the front, intoned *Alleluia*, and the whole army with one voice resounded *Alleluia*: the welkin, the groves, the rocks, and hollow caves rebellowed *Alleluia*, until the earth trembled, and the hearts of the Saxons melted with fear and terror, and seemed to dread that the vault of heaven was falling to crush them to atoms. Throwing away arms and armour, they betook themselves to precipitate flight. Numbers, during the panic, threw themselves into the neighbouring river, and many were drowned whilst they endeavoured to escape by swimming. Thus was renewed the miraculous victory of the Israelites, under Saul and Jonathan, over the Philistines.

Sam. ch.
 xiv.

Uter poi-
 soned.

But the Britons, too elate with their prosperous fortune (as it frequently happens,) and ungrateful for the divine bounty, sunk into drunkenness and debauchery, and thus lost their military spirit: wherefore the Saxons again resumed the superiority, overcame the Britons in battle, and worsted also the Scotch and Picts in Northumberland. Amidst this ebb of fortune, Uter was seized with a fever in Wales, and having desired a glass of water from a clear fountain, a Saxon is supposed to have insidiously infused poison into the draught,

advanced against the enemy. St. Germanus
 II. VOL. I.

which proved mortal to King Uter in the year 521.

A. C. 521.



The Pictish king on this occasion sent an embassy to the Britons, renewing the claim of his son Modred to their throne; but being disdainfully refused, joined the Saxons. Arthur meantime being declared king of the Britons, raised an army, and repeatedly vanquished the confederate foes. But the Britons again indulging themselves in York during the winter in luxurious living, and prostituting even the great festival of Christmas, turning it into a scene of gluttony, ebriety, and every disorder, drew upon themselves the anger of the Almighty, and rendered themselves unfit to defend their country. Arthur, who still acted the part of a brave and skilful general, to arouse the spirit of his people, and to be a match for his powerful enemies, made a new treaty with the Picts, by which it was stipulated that Modred and his heirs should succeed him in the kingdom. Modred married a British lady, and Arthur, with his new allies the Picts, and his ancient friends the Scotch, completely vanquished the Saxons, of whom a great number were banished: some, though fictitiously, received baptism; the Christian religion was restored throughout Britain, and the Scotch and Picts were dismissed with great glory. Goranus, in his old age, trusting the

The Pictish king claims the British throne for his son Modred.

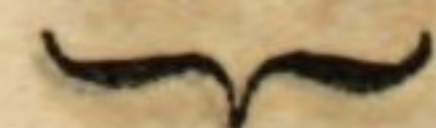
as a result of the battle of the Marston.

Arthur and the Britons.

Scots and Picts join Arthur and beat the Saxons.

Arthur and the Britons join the Picts and beat the Saxons.

A. C. 535.



The British
king claims
the British
throne for
his son Mo-
dred.

Goranus as-
sassinated.

affairs of his kingdom, and the collection of his revenue, to a cruel and avaricious man, called Toncetus, the nobles of Murray, incensed by the cruelty and malversation of this worthless justiciary, stabbed him in the town of Forres upon the judgment-seat; and then despairing of pardon for their rash action, assisted and admitted into the royal apartments by Donald, prefect of Athol, assassinated the king, after a reign of thirty-four years.

EUGENIUS, the son of Congallus, was next placed on the marble chair, and obtained the government amidst universal applause. As he made no particular inquiry about the assassination of the late king, some suspected that he was not ignorant of the regicide. The late queen with her children fled into Ireland from apprehension of danger, but the life and morals of Eugenius were his best exculpation, and were such as to yield to none of his predecessors.

Scots and
Picts join
Arthur and
beat the
Saxons.

Eugenius
joins Mo-
dred a-
gainst the
Britons.

The Britons, after the death of Lothus, disliking the agreement that made Modred the heir and successor of Arthur, petitioned that monarch that he would name some proper Briton to succeed him in the kingdom, suggesting that the British nation was not so destitute of men fit to govern as to be necessitated to adopt a foreigner. Arthur bade them select some promising youth of the British

royal blood, in whom the common suffrage would unite. Constantius was then proposed, and accepted as prince and heir of the crown. Modred remonstrated, and pleaded the solemn treaty, but in vain. He, therefore, having gained Eugenius to join him, proclaimed war against the Britons. When the opposite armies were in sight of each other, the bishops of all the three nations endeavoured to reconcile the parties, perceiving the dangerous tendency of the battle to universal Albion, and the signal for new conquest to the Saxons: but the advisers of Constantius rendered the negotiation abortive. The dreadful fight took place upon the banks of the Humber, whose blood-polluted stream swept numberless fallen heroes to the sea. The Scotch and Picts gained a dear-bought victory, with the loss of 20,000 slain; the Britons lost 30,000. Arthur and Modred both fell, with the flower of the nobility of the three nations. Queen Guanora, Arthur's widow, was taken prisoner, and kept as such during her life at Dunbar. After her death she was buried at Meigle, a village ten miles from Dundee, and superstition long proclaimed that the unlucky female who should tread on her grave was doomed to perpetual sterility. Eugenius died the twenty-third year of his reign.

CONVALLUS, the brother of the last king, succeeded him. He was a prince formed

A. C. 558.

Battle of
the Humber.

Q. Guanora.

A. C. 558.

for justice and piety. Religion under his protection made wonderful progress. In every town and fortress he caused the cross to be erected, that the people might be continually reminded of the Saviour who died upon the cross for the redemption of the world. He caused also a cross to be made, upon the perpendicular shaft of which there was a plate of silver, on which was inscribed in golden characters, *Christianorum Gloria*, The glory of Christians. He caused that cross to be carried before him as his banner, and used to venerate this sign of his crucified Lord before he mounted his horse. He never went into a church without being uncovered. He conversed with great affability and respect with the ministers of religion, and caused them and their authority to be respected by all. He made decent provision for their subsistence, that they might attend solely to their sacred duties. He ordered that the rectors and vicars should have houses and glebes adjoining to the church, and properly enclosed, yet so that the pastor might be easily accessible to such as wished to consult him for their spiritual advantage. Whilst religion flourished by his wise regulations, it was no less aided by his illustrious example, all ranks vying with each other to imitate the virtues of their prince.

Attracted by the fame of so pious and so wise a king, the Abbot Columba, a person of royal descent, and who had founded and governed many monasteries in Ireland, came over to Scotland, attended by twelve of his disciples. The fame of this cenobiarch soon spread among the Scotch and Picts, and crowds flocked from all quarters to see and hear this pattern of all virtues. The monks, till then chiefly scattered and homeless, he collected into monasteries built by order of the pious king Convallus, and assigned them a rule similar to that which was observed in Ireland, and principally borrowed from the ancient oriental institutes. Advancing south-east to the Pictish kingdom, by his preaching and conferences with the monarch and people, upon the doctrine, mysteries, and morality of the Christian religion, he undeceived those who, by long intercourse with the Britons, had, notwithstanding the instructions of St Palladius, been infected with the frenzy of the Pelagian heresy, and established throughout that nation the orthodox faith, and promoted the purity of morals. He assigned to the twelve disciples, whom he had brought from Ireland, different departments in the Lord's vineyard. Bathenus and Cominus, after the departure of their master, had the superintendence of the monasteries, and were not only the glory of their or-

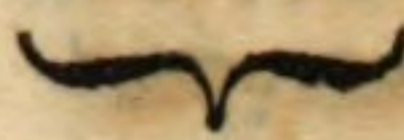
A. C. 560.


 Arrival of
 St Columba.

St Columba
 and his
 disciples.

Labours of
 St Columba
 and his dis-
 ciples.

A. C. 565.

to be
St Columba

der, but also an honour to the church of Christ. Cibanus and Etheranus, the nephews of St Columba, were both in priest's orders, and served the people in the ordinary functions of the ministry. The others, some of whom distinguished by their birth, and all by their piety, while they belonged to the monastery of Hyona, travelled often over the Scottish and Pictish kingdoms, and by their labours, preaching, catechising, and admonishing, diffused widely the knowledge of religion, and improved the morals of both nations.

St Columba
and Kenti-
gern.

to be
St Columba
and his
cousins

During his sojournment in Scotland, St Columba fell in with St Kentigern, or Mungo, bishop of Glasgow. That servant of God had been educated under the discipline of St Servanus, bishop and abbot of Culross. His innocence, meekness, and piety so endeared him to his master, that he was called *Munghu*, or dearly beloved, and hence he is still called Mungo. He led a solitary life sometime at Glasgow, until the clergy and people earnestly demanded him for their bishop. He was consecrated by an Irish bishop, invited to Scotland for that purpose, and fixed his see at Glasgow, which see or diocese then extended from sea to sea, and afforded continual exercise for his zeal and patience. He always travelled on foot, and spared no pains to spread the light of the gospel among unbelievers, of

whom he converted and baptized great numbers. Out of his monks and disciples he sent many missionaries to preach the faith in the north of Scotland, in the Orkney isles, and even in Norway and Iceland.

A. C. 565.

St Kentigern and Columba paid a joint visit to Brudeus, king of the Picts, with whom they held many learned and pious conferences upon the mysteries and morality of the Christian religion, which contributed much to the spiritual improvement both of the king and his subjects. Those pious men then travelled together to the *Castrum Caledoniæ*, (Dunkeld,) where King Convallus, at the desire of St Columba, had lately erected a monastery, in which the two holy men remained for six months. Thither the inhabitants of all the adjacent country, and even those of Angus and Mearns, flocked in crowds to hear the instructions of the bishop and abbot, who, by preaching, catechizing, and wholesome exhortations, stimulated their hearers to a regular life and the observance of solid piety.

Their respective duties urgently calling the prelate and cenobiarch elsewhere, after thanking God, and congratulating themselves for the happy success of their labours, they took a tender farewell of each other,—Kentigern returning to his see in Glasgow, and Columba first to Hyona and afterwards to Ireland. We

Separation.

A. C. 568.

shall see by and by that Dunkeld was afterwards erected to an Episcopal see, and a magnificent and elegant cathedral built, which, by the royal munificence of succeeding kings, was amply endowed for the decoration and upholding of the building, and also for the maintenance of the bishop and canons.

Character
of Convallus

When St Columba returned to Ireland, many of the nobility and pious people came to welcome him, and to learn the particulars of his tour in Scotland. He informed them that he had been most kindly and hospitably received by both Scotch and Picts, and that they had listened to his instructions with the greatest avidity and docility ; but that the greatest wonder he had seen was king Convallus, living amidst the luxury and magnificence of a splendid court, where there were many more allurements to vice than incitements to virtue, and yet vying with the bishops, clergy, and monks in the self-denial inculcated by the gospel, and in the exercises of a holy life ; that his eminent virtue and love of justice was so revered and respected by all, that not a whisper was heard against the king, nor dared one subject to violate the right of another ; that the king's example as a Christian tended more to reclaim from their wickedness a people naturally prone to ferocity, flagitiousness, and sedition, than the dread of the most de-

spotic monarch could have done to restrain them.

A. C. 569.

Next year, at the request of Convallus, St Columba returned to Scotland, carrying alongst with him Aidanus, son of Goranus, who was the true heir of the Scottish crown. He had no sooner landed, than he learnt that Convallus, in the eleventh year of his reign, had departed this life, and that his remains were just then escorted to the burial-place of kings by an immense concourse of nobles and sorrowing people. Columba hastened to join the funeral rites at Hyona; and, whilst he was still occupied in that solemn service, Kynatellus, the late king's brother, by the suffrage of the nobles and people, was crowned at Dunstaffnage. St Columba, nevertheless, waited on the new king, and introduced Aidanus to him, by whom (contrary to the general expectation) he was kindly and graciously received, and, moreover, told by Kynatellus, that he should soon recover his ancient inheritance. Not long after Kynatellus fell into the lingering distemper of which he died fourteen months afterwards. Before his decease he formally delivered his kingdom into the hands of Aidanus, and, amidst the pious exhortations and prayers of St Columba, yielded up his soul in the arms of his able director.

Convallus' death.

Kynatellus' short reign.

AIDANUS was then elected by universal ac-

570.

A. C. 570.

Aidanus
crowned.

clamation, and solemnly seated in the marble chair, and crowned by St Columba, who, with his right hand, placed the diadem on the king's head, and holding in his left a trumpet or winding wooden tube, (long preserved with respect in the church of Dunkeld,) made a flaming speech, enumerating the reciprocal duties of king and people, which both parties solemnly engaged to fulfil. The pious abbot insisted principally upon their gratitude to God for having imparted to them the invaluable light of the gospel, and foretold the happiness and tranquillity of the kingdom if they faithfully observed its maxims, and the scourges and miseries which would necessarily follow their departure from the faith or the precepts of its morality.

While these injunctions were observed, the kingdom flourished in peace and prosperity; but the neglect of these precautions involved the Scotch and Picts in a destructive war with each other, which, however, by the friendly negociation of St Columba, whom both parties made the arbiter of their differences, was happily terminated by a treaty of mutual peace and friendship.

St Columba returned to Hyona* where he,

* Hyona, or Icolmkill, is about three miles long and one broad. Among the ruins of the old cloister of St Columba or Colme, there remains a churchyard, in the west part of which are the tombs of forty-eight kings of Scotland, in the middle; on the right hand side of which are the tombs of four kings of Ireland; and on the left, those of eight kings of Norway.

A. C. 595.

many years, excited his religious, by word and example, to the fervour and perfection of their state. His manner of living was always most austere. He lay on the bare floor, with a stone for his pillow, and never interrupted his fast; yet his devotion was neither morose nor severe. His countenance always appeared wonderfully cheerful, and bespoke, to all that beheld him, the constant interior serenity of his soul, and the unspeakable joy with which it overflowed from the presence of the Holy Ghost. He strove to suffer no moment of his precious time to pass without employing it for the honour of God, principally either in praying, reading, writing, or preaching. His incomparable mildness and charity towards all men, and on all occasions, won the hearts of all who conversed with him; and his virtues, miracles, and extraordinary gift of prophecy, commanded the veneration of all ranks of men. Having continued his labours in Scotland thirty-four years, he clearly and openly foretold his death; and on Saturday the ninth of June he said to his disciple Di-

Many ancient families of the Western isles have their particular burying-places in the rest of the church-yard.

Ven Bede informs us (L. 5. ch. 4.) that from St Columba, who was never bishop, it continued a custom that the whole island, even the bishops who resided in it, by an unusual law, were subject to the abbot. But as Bishop Usher observes, this superiority was only of jurisdiction, not of order. Veneration for St Colme introduced a superiority of civil jurisdiction over the bishops, who were taken from among his monks, and retained their respect for their old superior.

A. C. 597.

ermit, "This day is called the Sabbath, that is, the day of rest, and such will it truly be to me, for it will put an end to my labours." He was the first in the church at midnight matins. He knelt before the altar, received the viaticum, and, having given his blessing to his spiritual children, sweetly slept in the Lord, in the year 597, and 77th year of his age. He was buried in this island of Hyona, called also from this holy abbot Icolmkill; but, some years after his remains were removed to Ireland, and deposited at Down in Ulster, in the same vault with those of St Patrick and St Bridget, upon which tomb the following inscription was written:

Hi tres in Duno, tumulo tumulantur in uno

Brigida, Patricius atque Columba pius.

Saints Brigit, Patriek, and Colcumb,

In Down are buried in one tomb.

England about this time was divided into a heptarchy, and the ancient Britons were driven to Wales. Ethelfridus, a greedy and ambitious man, induced the Picts to join him in predatory inroads upon the Scottish territories. Aidanus formed an alliance with Molga king of the Britons, and carried on war for some time with various fortune against the other confederates. Aidanus with his ally gained a splendid victory once in Northumberland, which victory St Columba is said

to have announced to his disciples in Hyona in the very hour in which it was gained. An unfortunate defeat which he sustained from the same foe, together with the death of his beloved friend St Columba, which had happened some years before, broke the spirit of this good king. He foresaw the cruelty to which the remnant of his Christian subjects would be exposed, his health languished, he sunk under the pressure of sorrow and years, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. Kenneth Keir, his successor, enjoyed the throne but a few months, and nothing memorable happened during his reign.

A. C. 597.

About this time the devotions called the greater *Litanies*, formerly said at Rome to deprecate the ravages of a pestilence raised by an inundation of the Tyber, were by St Gregory fixed annually for the festival of St Mark, 25th of April, together with abstinence on that day, and were gradually adopted throughout the Christian world.

SYNOPSIS

OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION,
DURING THE FIFTH AND SIXTH AGES.

Retrospect.

THEODOSIUS was the last emperor who commanded the whole Roman empire. He died in the end of the fourth century, leaving his sons very young, and (after the retreat of the learned and pious Arsenius) educated by flattering and ambitious courtiers. The Eastern empire was left to Arcadius, and the Western was the portion of Honorius. Rufinus, as prime minister, governed the former, and Stilicon, in the same capacity, ruled the latter. Both were avaricious and ambitious: the highest offices were sold to persons unworthy of filling them; the people were oppressed; emperors succeeded emperors, and as one minister fell another arose: but the evils were not remedied. Barbarous nations broke in upon the empire in all quarters, and desolated the provinces. Alaric, king of the Goths, desolated Italy, and plundered Rome, 409. Genseric, king of the Vandals, called in by the Empress Eudoxia to revenge the death of her husband

Valentinian, pillaged Rome during fourteen days, and carried off immense booty, a part of which were the gold and silver vessels which Titus had brought from the temple of Jerusalem. By the death of Genseric, in 476, God delivered the world from a tyrant, and the church from a persecutor.

The emperors, instead of easing their subjects and defending their empire, employed themselves in framing penal laws against Pagans and heretics. The bishops were then formidable to emperors who were not of their communion. The bishops of Constantinople possessed more temporal influence over the election of, and submission to, the Eastern emperors than ever the bishops of Rome, during their greatest power, could exercise over the crowned heads of Europe. The persons obnoxious to the penal laws fled to the barbarous nations around, and brought them the aid of their strength, talents, and hatred against their persecutors. The Persians, Bulgarians, Arabs, &c. desolated the provinces of the East, while the governors wasted the remainder by their vexatious exactions. The Western empire was dismembered by the Gauls, Goths, Visigoths, and Franks. Clovis united the different tribes of these last, and fixed the seat of his kingdom at Paris, in 511.

In spite of the edicts of emperors, Polythe-

ism had still its approvers, who laboured eagerly to justify and support it. The controversy between these and the Christians maintained for some time the study of philosophy and the erudition of past ages; but this philosophy was chiefly theological and polemic. The study of natural philosophy was neglected. Oratory, poesy, and history, were still in vogue; but they were employed by ambition to flatter the great, even the most worthless and despicable. True eloquence, taste, and criticism were lost. The bombast, the marvellous, the false flash, the forced allusion, took place of the elegant, the noble, and sublime. During constant wars and violent agitations, few cultivated their mind or their reason. Rough warriors subdued the peoples who had cultivated the arts and sciences: they owed their success to their courage or perfidy. Valour and deceit became the most esteemed arts. Letters and science fled to the monasteries, or were scattered among some of the secular clergy, or a few wise laics, who had taste and courage to resist the torrent, and whose moderation caused them to be forgotten or ridiculed.

Yet among the orthodox Christians there still existed some good writers, dexterous theologians, and accurate reasoners; but they were few, and the purity of their style unequal to

those of the preceding ages. Few Latin verses of any considerable merit were made after the fifth age.

Zealous bishops could not behold with indifference even their conquerors ignorant of the true religion ; but the ignorance and barbarity of these warriors made them but little susceptible of instruction. It pleased the Almighty to employ the means that had accredited the instructions of the Apostles,—means that struck the senses,—miracles adapted to make upon these men a salutary impression. Numberless miracles were wrought at the tombs of St Martin at Tours, of St Hilary at Poitiers, of St Germanus at Auxerre,—so evident, so splendid, so true, and so satisfactorily attested, that they could not be mistaken, and consequently were held for distinctive marks of the true religion. But such is the corruption and perversity of wicked men, that the best of things, even the divine bounties and institutions, are liable to abuse. The effects which these true miracles had produced, caused many persons, from false zeal, from interest, fanaticism, &c. to forge and to assert false ones. It is so flattering to self-love, so consolatory to human weakness, to suppose that Providence is, on all occasions, ready to interpose miraculously for our aid and direction, that men were easily led to be-

lieve, that superstitions invented by themselves or others, though supported by no lawful authority, might deliver them from danger, or discover hidden truths or interesting future events. Hence those single combats, and ordeals by fire and water, falsely called the *judgment of God*. Thus, too, it was believed, that by opening the Bible, Providence, being requested to that effect, would, by the first verse upon which the opener cast his eye, give an answer to direct the person in any embarrassing or puzzling affair. The Emperor Adrian is said to have formerly employed Virgil's *Æneid* for the same purpose.

Chilperic, son of Clotaire, wrote a letter, and placed it on the tomb of St Martin of Tours, requesting the saint to let him know if he could, without guilt, drag Boson, his enemy, from the church of St Martin, whither he had fled for sanctuary. It is not unlikely that Chilperic might interpret the saint's silence for consent.

The more hardy and wicked, wishing to know future events, or rescue themselves from imminent perils, sought the assistance of evil spirits by necromancy, magic, witchcraft, and spells.

The questions concerning faith agitated among the Eastern nations, were mostly metaphysical, and arose from incorrect notions of

ontology, from a vain desire of celebrity, and especially from pride and obstinacy. The confounding *nature* and *person* gave occasion to two opposite errors. Nature and person are the same thing, said Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople : Now, in Christ there are two natures ; therefore in him there are two persons. That error was condemned in the council of Ephesus, the third general council, 431. Nestorius, being obstinate, was condemned, and became the author of a sect.

Nature and person are the same, said Abbot Eutyches ; but in Christ there is only one person ; therefore there is only one nature in Christ. The human nature is absorpt in the divine, as a drop of water in the sea. Eutyches, assisted by Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, in a packed council at Ephesus, called by derision *Conciliabulum*, was justified ; but both he and Dioscorus, together with their error, were condemned in the legitimate council of Chalcedon, 451. Eutyches also became a heresiarch, and his sect bred great disturbances in church and state.

The writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and those of Theodore of Cyr, against the anathemas of St Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, as also a letter of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, favouring Nestorius, made great noise. These writings were called the three chapters. The

Emperor Justinian caused them to be condemned, and the condemnation was signed by several bishops. Pope Vigilius condemned the writings, but was unwilling to condemn the authors of them, especially the two Theodores, who were dead, and had not been condemned while alive. At length, however, they were condemned in the fifth general council at Constantinople, and Pope Vigilius gave his consent for peace.

Thus, amidst all the confusion which reigned in the East and West, the faith of the church was preserved inviolate.

The Christian religion was introduced, for the second time, into England about the end of the sixth century, by St Augustine, monk, and his companions, sent thither by St Gregory the Great, and made rapid progress in that country.

CHAPTER IV.

Eugenius receives the Sons of Edelfredus, who fled to his protection—Ebba escapes the violence of her pursuer—arrives at a promontory, which, from her name is called St Abbe's head—becomes Abbess of Coldingham — Ferchard — imprisoned—commits suicide — Boniface Queritinus, zealous bishop — St Molochus, bishop—Donald IV.—Northumberland instructed and converted by Scottish missionaries—Ferchard II.—Malduin—Eugenius V.—defeats Egfrid—Eugenius VI.—Amberkeleth—Eugenius VII.—escapes assassination—collects authentic documents of history—increases the livings of the Clergy—Murdoch—Ven Bede concludes his History—Ethfin—Eugenius VIII.—Fergus III.—Solwathius—Achaius makes an alliance with Charlemagne —sends his brother Guillermus, or William, with 4000 troops, to the assistance of that monarch—Scottish Professors begin the University of Paris—Achaius joins Hungus king of the Picts against the Saxons—Defeat of Athelstan—Devotion to St Andrew—Convallus II.—Dongall —Alpin—War with the Picts—Kenneth II. the Great—Scheme to make the Nobles hearty in pursuing the war against the Picts—routs, and destroys that nation—transfers the principal Episcopal see from Abernethy to St Andrew's—abridges the laws, and adds some new ones —transfers the Marble Chair from Dunstaffnage to Scone.—Synopsis of Politics, Literature, and Religion during the Seventh and Eighth Centuries.

EUGENIUS, the son of Aidanus, succeeded Kenneth, and proved a just and religious prince. To him fled for protection the seven sons of Edelfredus, king of the Northumbrians, who fell in battle detesting the Christian religion; but his sons, instructed by the bishops, embraced the Christian faith, desiring and receiving baptism. Their only sister, Ebba, escaping the victor's violence, and having

A. C. 606.

Eugenius.

Sons of
Edelfred.

A. C. 606.



St Ebba.

found, it is said, a small boat, put to sea, and was guided by Divine Providence to the promontory from her since called St Abbe's-head, where she was instructed by the bishop of the place, baptized, and received the veil in the nunnery of Coldingham, of which she afterwards became abbess, affording the most edifying example until her happy death.

621.

Eugenius rebuilt the sacred edifices in Galloway and the neighbouring districts, which had been destroyed or demolished by the barbarous inroads of the Saxons; he repaired also the forts: and, after a quiet reign of fifteen years, died, justly celebrated for the pious and useful improvements of his kingdom, and was buried in Hyona; and

Ferchard,
bad king.

FERCHARD, his son, succeeded to his throne, but not to his virtues. Ferchard, an ill-conditioned prince, and wishing to reign wickedly and tyrannically, had cunning enough to cherish disunion among the nobles, hoping thereby to secure the impunity of his own crimes; but the nobility, perceiving his malicious purpose, made up their differences, and cited the king to a convention of the states; but he refusing to attend, they reduced the fort where he had entrenched himself, and brought him to a trial. Many and weighty charges were urged against him; amongst others, the Pelagian heresy, and his contempt of baptism and other

sacred rites : and as he could not satisfactorily vindicate himself he was committed to prison, which his high spirit could ill brook, and, in order to avoid scorn, committed suicide in the twelfth year of his reign.

A. C. 621.


About this time Boniface Queritinus, a most venerable bishop, attended by several pious companions, sailed from Italy, and landed on the shore of the Frith of Tay, at the mouth of a rivulet which divided Gowrie from Angus. Some writers have alleged that this bishop was elected Pope immediately after the death of St Gregory, but abdicated the papacy so soon that the Roman historians have taken no notice of him. Others have imagined him to have been Boniface III. who held the holy see only eight months and twenty-three days ; but it seems more probable that he was only sent by that pontiff. But whosoever he was, he left behind him sufficient proofs that he was a man of singular piety and considerable learning. He built a church at his landing-place, which he dedicated in honour of St Peter. From thence he proceeded to preach at Tellein, a village three miles from Dundee, where he also built a church. He built a third at a place called Restennot, which afterwards became a monastery of Augustin canons. There he stayed for a considerable time, preaching and instructing the crowds that flocked to hear him.

Boniface
Queritinus.

A. C. 630.

Having confirmed them in the faith, and inspired them with corresponding sentiments of morality and piety, he proceeded to announce the word of God throughout the districts of Angus, Mearns, Marr, Buchan, Strathbogie, and Moray, carefully and assiduously instructing the inhabitants, and building churches in several places, all of which he dedicated to God in honour of St Peter, and provided them with zealous and edifying pastors. At last he reached Ross-shire, where, having spent the remainder of his useful life in unremitting labour for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, he yielded up his happy spirit to his Creator, and his body was entombed at Rosemarkie near Fortrose. He died about the year 630. He is said to have founded 150 churches and oratories in Scotland. Many miracles are ascribed to his intercession after his death, and his festival was kept on the 14th of March.

St Molo-
chus.

Cotemporary with St Boniface, though an older man, was the excellent Bishop Molo-chus, trained up to piety and learning under the venerable Abbot Brandon. Argyle and Mar were the chief theatre of his apostolic labours, where, by his zealous invectives against the reigning vices, and by painting, in the strongest colours, the dreadful punishments which await the perpetration of those crimes in the world to come, he struck his hearers

with the salutary fear of God's judgments, and inclined them to seek their salvation by the Christian faith, which shews itself by good works. He joined St Boniface in their common view, the extending the kingdom of Christ, and, with many pious assistants, accompanied him to Boss, when, worn out with age and toil in the vineyard of the Lord, he happily closed his mortal course in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and is said by some to have been interred in the same church with his friend St Boniface; but the inhabitants of Argyle asserted that his remains repose in the church of Lismore, an island on the coast of Argyle, and anciently the residence of a bishop. A part of the old cathedral is said to be still the parish church. In that island, at present, is the seat of the Roman Catholic bishop of the Highland district of Scotland, together with his seminary for the education of priests. It is highly probable that a portion of the relics of St Molochus were deposited in a chapel near Murtlach, of which I shall have occasion to speak afterwards. This holy bishop was highly venerated throughout Scotland, especially in the counties of Argyle and Ross. His festival was kept on the 25th of June.

DONALD IV. succeeded his brother Ferchard; and being warned by that unhappy prince's untimely and wretched exit, and sti-

A. C. 630.

632.

A. C. 632.

mulated by the revered memory of his father, applied himself, with unremitting ardour, to protect and to extend the Christian faith and morality, both within and beyond his own kingdom.

Northumberland had been divided into two principalities. Eanfrid or Andefrid, the eldest of the young princes who had fled to Eugenius, was promoted to the kingdom of Berwick; and Osric, an infamous character, governed Deira, the other principality. Eanfrid married the daughter of Osric, and, apostatizing from the Christian religion, leagued with his father-in-law to re-establish Paganism and the heathenish rites in their territories, which had soon a mischievous success; but being attacked and defeated by Cadwalla king of the Britons, and Penda king of Mercia, Eanfrid and Osric were thrown into prison, and consummated their diabolical friendship by an end worthy of its principle, being, by mutual agreement, each other's executioner.*

Oswald, second son of Ethelfrid, who had valiantly fought for the good cause against his brother, was raised to the government of all Northumberland, and earnestly besought Donald to send him, from Scotland, a prelate of learning and piety, to bring back the apostates

* Others say, Osric fell in battle, and Eanfrid by treachery.

to the true faith, and to convert such as had never renounced their idolatry and superstition.

A. C. 632.

Cormanus, a distinguished theologian, was sent; but his discourses, being too learned, speculative, and metaphysical for the rude state of a gross and illiterate people, made little progress. He was succeeded in that mission by Bishop Aidan, a more interior and condescending prelate, who, by fervent prayer, humble and mild manners, and adapting his instructions to the meanest capacity, drew so many hearers to him, that he was obliged to preach in the open fields; and by leading his audience by gentle degrees from vitious to virtuous habits, from truths easily comprehended to the more mysterious and sublime,—nourishing them with milk until they were fitted for stronger food,—he soon changed the face of the country, and baptized many thousands in a few days. He continued their bishop of Lindisfarne unto the end of his holy life, which was often illustrated by miracles. Many pious priests and monks from Scotland went to the assistance of this worthy prelate. Numerous and splendid churches were built, and Northumberland became inferior to no other part of Albion for Christian knowledge and piety. King Oswald himself is enrolled among the saints. Before Bishop Aidan could sufficient-

Northum-
berland
converted
by Scottish
Missionaries

A. C. 646.

ly speak the language of the country, King Oswald used to be his interpreter, and explain his sermons and instructions to the people. Oswald was slain in a battle against Penda in 642. King Donald survived him but a few years, being unfortunately drowned by the upsetting of his boat while fishing on Loch Tay, after a reign of fourteen years. During his reign, the Scottish prelates, at the exhortation of the Pope, corrected the discrepancy about the day of celebrating Easter, which had made much bustle in the Christian world, and conformed, as did most other nations, with the Roman ritual.

To Donald, loved and revered for every virtue, succeeded FERCHARD, his nephew, addicted to every vice, impious towards God, and hateful and injurious to mankind,—intemperate, brutal, savage, avaricious. Having long oppressed his other subjects by cruelty and rapine, he consummated his diabolical wickedness within his own family, by murdering his queen, and deflowering his own daughters. His crimes drew upon him excommunication from all things sacred, and the nobles assembled to inflict upon him summary punishment, but were hindered by the holy Bishop Colman, who confidently and openly predicted that God himself would soon exercise exemplary vengeance. Nor was the prediction vain. A

few days after, while the king was hunting, he was bit by a wolf, and fevered ; yet still persisted in his intemperance and impenitence. At length, however, the vilest vermin issuing from and consuming his flesh, he exclaimed that “ his visitation was just, since he had despised Bishop Colman’s admonitions.” The bishop then flew to his aid, and comforted him with the hopes of pardon if his penitence was sincere. The king then, covered with sackcloth, caused himself to be carried forth on a litter, and, having made a public confession of his sins, expired, after having been the scourge of his kingdom eighteen years.

A. C. 664.



MALDUIN, the son of Donald IV., was next invested with royalty. The better to remedy the internal evils of his kingdom, he made peace with his neighbours. A dangerous discord, which broke out between the Lennox and Argyleshire men, was speedily and wisely composed by the punishment of the ringleaders. Malduin rebuilt, ornamented, and endowed the old church in Hyona or Icolmkill. Scottish bishops for some time succeeded Bishop Aidan in Northumberland. Scottish monks also, through a great part of England, instructed the rude people in the Christian doctrine, and taught the youth to read ; but the influence they seemed to acquire by these charitable offices, exciting envy among the

A. C. 684.



English, the monks quietly returned home. About this time a dreadful pestilence prevailed through the most of Europe : The Scottish nation, however, mercifully escaped this dreadful visitation ; and indeed epidemical distempers were little known in Scotland until the temperate life of its ancient inhabitants degenerated into more luxurious living. Frequent inroads and skirmishes between the Northumbrians and the Scotch people had nearly broken out to open war when Malduin's death took place. He fell a victim, by poison or by strangulation, to the jealousy of his queen, who, four days after, was burnt for her crime. Malduin reigned twenty years. His nephew,

EUGENIUS V. was next raised to the throne. He was desirous of peace with the Northumbrians ; but as Egfrid wished to circumvent him by a dissembled truce, he matched him by similar policy. At the expiry of the truce, Egfrid, contrary to the advice of his friends, united with the Picts, and plundered Galloway. Eugenius pursued the ravagers, and the Pictish troops seceding, Egfrid was defeated, and having lost the greater part of his army, he himself, wounded, narrowly escaped with a few of his men. Next year, still against the will of his friends, he marched against the Picts ; these feigning a flight, drew him into an ambush, where he, with his whole army,

were cut in pieces. The Picts thereby regained the ample territories which had been wrested from them. The Britons, also, and the Scotch, invaded Northumberland, and made such slaughter and devastation in that kingdom that it never recovered its former power. Eugenius V. died in the fourth year of his reign. A. C. 684.

EUGENIUS VI., son of Ferchard, next wore the crown. He was a virtuous and well educated prince for that age; and Alfrid, king of Northumberland, being also a lover of learning, a similarity of pursuits conciliated mutual peace. But though Eugenius, distrustful of the faith of the Picts, would make no treaty with them, yet, by the good offices of St Cuthbert and Adamnan, Scottish bishops, the Scotch and Picts did not measure strength in any general engagement during the life of Eugenius, who died after a ten years reign, and was buried in Hyona. 688.

AMBERKELETH nephew of Eugenius V. now obtained the government. He at first affected justice, temperance, and decency; but soon betrayed his real character, and sunk into every flagitious vice. Garnard, king of the Picts, seizing the favourable opportunity, invaded the Scottish territories with a great army. Amberkeleth, aroused by the reproaches of his subjects, mustered a kind of army, and took the field; but ere hostilities com- 698.

A. C. 699.



Eugenius
VII. pro-
claimed
king.

menced was killed by a chance arrow, before he had completed the second year of his reign.

That the army might not be scattered for want of a commander, Eugenius VII., brother of the late king, was immediately upon the field, by military suffrage and conclamation, proclaimed king. He was of a princely person, and excellent talents and dispositions. Perceiving that his army, collected as it had been by a vitious, indolent, and unpopular king, was very inferior to that of the enemy, he dexterously procured a truce, and, after being formally inaugurated upon the marble chair, made a treaty of peace with Garnard, which was confirmed by his espousing Spondana, the daughter of the Pictish king, an amiable princess, and greatly beloved by the whole Scottish nation, but who unfortunately, the year following her marriage, when far advanced in pregnancy, met with an untimely death. Two villains from Athol, in revenge of their father's death, had determined to assassinate the king. They got admission to the royal chamber, but the king happening to sleep that night in another apartment, the queen, by mistake, fell a victim to the diabolical machination. Suspicion fell upon the king, who was in imminent danger had not the miscreants been seized and convicted. They were hung naked on a gibbet by the heels together, with cruel mastiff dogs to de-

The queen
murdered.

your them. Eugenius having now no war to sustain, turned himself to the improvement civil and ecclesiastical of his kingdom. He appointed proper persons to collect all the authentic documents of the foregoing reigns; caused the public record office in Hyona, which had fallen into decay, to be magnificently repaired; gave orders that its contents should be carefully preserved; and appointed a handsome salary for men of genius and learning to write the histories of their own and other countries, that posterity might be stimulated to a laudable thirst of knowledge, and have the means of gratifying that useful desire. He took care that the churches, and all that regarded the divine worship, should be clean and decent. He increased the livings of the clergy, till then very small, and granted them suitable glebes and other lands, according to their rank and dignity. After a reign of seventeen years he died at Abernethy, beloved and regretted, leaving behind him the fame of a wise and excellent prince and a good Christian.

Boethius relates the history of a pious family who lived during Eugenius' reign, and whose edifying example had encouraged others to pursue the paths of virtue. Donald, a man of singular sanctity, was of Scottish extraction, but led a retired life, in a solitary spot about six

A. C. 69 .

Documents
of history
collected.

A. C. 699.

Documents
of history
collected

miles from Dundee, then a town of the Pictish dominions. He had by his wife nine daughters, the eldest of whom, called Maud or Matilda, after her mother's too early death, was a mother and pattern to the others, and surpassed them in virtue and perfection as she did in years. They ate only one spare meal a-day, and that consisted of barley-bread and water. They divided their time between prayer and rustic labour, by which they earned their scanty subsistence. After their father's death, not thinking their chastity safe in such unfenced solitude, without a protector or guardian, they petitioned Garnard, king of the Picts, to assign them some suitable abode, where, secluded from intrusion of the other sex, they might serve God in that chastity which they had vowed to him from their tender years. Garnard graciously granted their petition, and allotted them lodgings at Abernethy, with an oratory, and a competency for their subsistence from the produce of the neighbouring grounds. There they spent their pious lives, and were all buried under a spreading oak. The place was yet known and piously visited in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when this account was written.*

715.

MURDOCH succeeded his uncle Eugenius VII. on the Scottish throne. Being of a mild

* Boethius, Book ix. p. 187.

and generous disposition in a private station, he maintained the same amiable character after his exaltation, it being his chief study to maintain peace and good order among his subjects, and to preserve concord with and among the neighbouring states; endeavouring, as he said, that the different nations which Albion, as a common mother, nourished on her soil, should live in brotherly agreement. He renewed, at a great expense, several sacred edifices which had been destroyed in the tumult of war, and which had not been repaired by his predecessors—amongst others *Candida Casa*, where the Bishop Ninian, says Bede, was still illustrated by many miracles.

A. C. 715.

Venerable Bede, at this date, concludes his history, by telling us that the four peoples then inhabiting Albion or Great Britain, viz. the Britons or Welsh, the Saxons or English, the Picts, and the Scotch, enjoyed peace with each other, and that the three last-mentioned enjoyed the *communion, peace, and truth* of the universal church, but that the Britons still obstinately opposed the common discipline concerning the time of celebrating Easter. He adds, their lives were become dissolute and disorderly. This wonderful and truly venerable man, who, by his studies, had touched all the sciences, and by his spirit of prayer and interior life sanctified all his studies, writings,

Ven. Bede.

A. C. 735.



and labours, died on the 26th of May 735, and was buried in St Paul's church at Jarrow, but his remains were translated to Durham in 1020. Murdoch reigned fifteen years, and was succeeded by

ETHFIN, son of Eugenius VII. who, imitating the two preceding monarchs, preserved tranquillity and improved the state of the kingdom, by encouraging industry and religion, by punishing vice, and especially by repressing the licentiousness of the plundering nobles, and protecting the poor and defenceless. But when he grew old, his ministers suffered or committed many acts of oppression. Donald of the Western isles, retaining a great number of freebooters, harassed and plundered the Gallovidians, and often reduced them to the greatest misery. In vain did they complain to Murdoch the chief magistrate of that district; he winked at the robbery, as he was probably a sharer in the spoil. Ethfin filled the throne thirty years.

761.

EUGENIUS VIII. being invested with royalty, pursued, took, and put to death the plundering Donald of the isles; condemned Murdoch for his copartnership in the villany, and divided his goods among the sufferers. But, after so fair a commencement of his reign, he unhappily sunk into the foulest vices, and, while on the judgment-seat about to condemn an inno-

cent nobleman in order to obtain his fortune, he was mortally wounded by the indignant peers; and thus died, after a three years reign. His worthless advisers and panders shared the ignominious death they deserved.

A. C. 764.

Eugenius
VIII. as-
sassinated,

Fergus III., by similar vices, incurred the contempt of his subjects, and was poisoned or strangled by his injured queen, who, to save innocent suspected persons from tortures and death, openly confessed the deed she had done, and, to prevent the ignominy of trial and punishment, plunged a poniard in her own breast. Fergus' disgraceful reign lasted about three years.

as also
Fergus III.

SOLWATHIUS, son of Eugenius VIII. next obtained the crown, and was worthy of it. Unfortunately becoming lame by the gout, he was unable to head his army; but what he could not perform personally, he achieved by selecting good generals. Donald Bane had assumed the title of king of the Hebrides, and had also landed his freebooters in Lorn, and was pillaging that country. Solwathius sent Culan of Argyle, and Duchald of Athol, with an army in pursuit of the rebel. Donald, with his followers were hemmed in within a defile, from which there was only one narrow passage, through which, attempting to clear their way, they were cut off to a man. Gillicolm, who, with a similar band, had invaded Galloway,

767.

A. C. 767.

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Fugatus  
Vill. as  
assessat

St Macher.

as also  
Fugatus III

787.

was likewise subdued, and, together with his chief abettors, put to death. The English and Picts, occupied with internal troubles, allowed Solwathius peace from foreign enemies. After a twenty year's reign, he was gathered to his fathers in Icolmkill. About this time lived St Macher, to whom the cathedral church of Aberdeen was dedicated. He, with other learned and pious preachers, spread the light of the gospel through Scotland.

ACHAIUS, son of Ethfin, next swayed the Scottish sceptre, who for judgment, justice, moderation, and piety was a model for princes. His first care after he mounted the throne was to reconcile differences, and extinguish jealousies and heart-burnings existing among his nobles, (which in a private station he had had access to know,) and thus to establish concord and unanimity amongst all his subjects. His next attention was to maintain peace with the neighbouring states. His embassy to the Irish shews how well he was acquainted with the principles of equity and wise government. He offered them peace, and put them in mind of the advantages of accepting reasonable terms, and saving the valuable lives which must be lost in war, as also of the difficulty of recovering indemnity even if victorious. That if they, however, persisted in offering hostilities, they should perhaps find that the nation which



preferred peace was not the worst prepared for war, and had the greatest reason to hope that heaven would be on its side. The event shewed how foolish the Irish were in not listening to his proposals and reasoning; for having sent a considerable force to plunder the Hebrides, they were assailed by a storm in returning home, and, together with their booty, were buried in the waves. Their surviving countrymen were reduced to the necessity of asking, with humility and tears, what they had rejected with disdain. The wisdom and moderation of Achaius shone with still greater lustre by granting, even then, their petition.

Charlemagne sent an embassy to Scotland, soliciting the alliance of the Scotch and Picts, and a league offensive and defensive against the English Saxons, who frequently harassed his empire by predatory bands upon the coast-towns and lands, but especially by piracies at sea.

Hungus, king of the Picts, waived the alliance; but Achaius, with the approbation of the majority of his nobles, accepted the offer, and sent to the emperor's assistance against the Saracens 4000 troops under the command of his brother Guillermus, who acquired great glory in various services under Charlemagne, particularly in restoring Pope Leo III. to his see, from which he had been violently expelled.

A. C. 787.

Charle-  
magne  
makes an  
alliance  
with Achai-  
us King of  
the Scots.



AC. 787.



led, and in restoring to its former lustre the city of Florence, which had been plundered by the Goths. Guillermus having obtained great honours, and amassed considerable riches, resolved, as he had never been married, to leave his fortune in pious institutions ; and, accordingly, founded several monasteries, both in Germany and Italy, which, he enjoined, should, in all future time, be filled with Scottish subjects, who should appropriate the surplus of their funds and their labour to the corporal and spiritual wants of their fellow creatures. The remains of one of these monasteries still exist at Ratisbon.

Charlemagne (who was no less desirous to illustrate his empire by letters than by arms) requested that some learned Scotchmen might be sent to teach Greek and Latin at Paris. Buchanan says, that among those who were sent was a John Scotus, or Albinus, who was preceptor to the emperor himself, while Clement was made professor at Paris ; and that many Scottish monks went also and instructed the inhabitants upon the Rhine, with such success that they established several monasteries in those places, and that the Germans were so mindful and grateful for the zeal of those who taught them the Christian doctrine, that they still, in Buchanan's time, chose Scotchmen for superiors in those monasteries.



Boethius, who studied at Paris alongst with Erasmus, says that Clement and John, learned Scotchmen, laid the foundation of the university of Paris, so much and so justly celebrated in after times.

A. C. 787.

Scotsmen  
began the  
university  
of Paris.

Various hostilities having taken place between Athelstan, king of Kent, Wessex, Mercia, and Northumberland, on the one side, and Hungus, king of the Picts, on the other, the latter besought the assistance of Achaius, who, readily granting the request of his friend and ally, sent him an auxiliary force of 10,000 men. Hungus, with this reinforcement, plundered and made reprisals in Northumberland, and returned to East Lothian with great booty, and encamped upon the banks of a rivulet about two miles from Haddington, to give some respite to his troops, to divide the booty, and to consult how he might farther annoy the enemy. But Athelstan, a youth of warm temper, and exasperated by the devastation made upon his territories, closely followed Hungus with a great army, surrounded, during the night, the baggage and the booty, not yet distributed, appeared to his foe when least expected, and, having chosen his ground, drew up in battle array for an attack.

This unlooked for and superior force struck the Picts and Scotch with great consternation and dismay. After much consultation they



A. C. 787.



Scotmen  
begin the  
university  
of Paris

Battle of  
Athelstane-  
ford.

concluded, since there seemed little probability of avoiding battle, they must try their fortune, and conquer or die. They betook themselves, meantime, to fervent prayer, in order to conciliate the favour of heaven; and Hungus especially, with great earnestness, invoked the intercession of St Andrew, the common patron of the Pictish and Scottish nations, that the peoples, his peculiar care, might not be destroyed. The next day was spent in small skirmishes. On the third day, at early dawn, Hungus drew up his army, and gave orders for a general attack. The onset was made with such courage and force, that the English soon gave way, and were so dreadfully slaughtered, that not above 500 are said to have escaped. King Athelstan fell in the beginning of the combat, transfixe by a lance; and from him the place and the battle derive their names of Athelstaneford. That prince's body was sought for and found among the slain, and was buried in the neighbouring church with the solemnity that became a Christian and a king.

Devotion to  
St Andrew.

The victors having laid aside their arms, walked barefooted in procession to the church of St Regulus, to return their grateful thanks to Christ and to his apostle for the victory. High mass was celebrated, and the king first, then the nobles, and afterwards the multitude, reverently kissed the relics of St Andrew.



After paying their grateful devotions to the Saviour, and venerating his apostle, both nations promised that they and their posterity, in all future battles, should bear the cross of St Andrew as their banner. When these acts of religion were over, the Scottish officers and soldiers, having received their respective shares of the booty, and presents from Hungus, according to their rank and merit, returned home with glory and gladness.

Hungus also, to promote respect for religion, and to inspire greater ardour for piety, enlarged and adorned the said church with splendid magnificence, increased the number of the clergy who officiated in it, made it rich presents of plate, together with the statues of our Saviour and the twelve apostles of gold or silver, and a new shrine of purest gold for the relics of St Andrew. Moreover, that the clergy might have sufficient means of supporting the dignity due to their several ranks, and might attend solely to their sacred functions, he granted for that purpose the tithes of cattle, corn, and fruit throughout his kingdom; and, finally, he granted to the clergy immunity from trial before the civil judges, and from the last punishment of the law. But the clergy did not long enjoy either these revenues or privileges; for Feredeth, the fourth successor of Hungus, recalled the boons,

A. C. 787.





A. C. 819.

enacting that the clergy, like others, should appear before the civil judges, and abide by their sentence, as also that they should content themselves with their former salaries. The goods, which Hungus had bestowed on the church, were parcelled out among the followers and minions of the court.

Achaius, renowned afar and beloved at home, died in the thirty-second year of his reign, and was interred in Hyona; his friend Charlemagne died four years before him, having reigned over the Franks forty-seven years, and been emperor of the Romans fourteen.

CONVALL II., the nephew of Achaius, succeeded to the government. He maintained the league with the Picts, and in this amity both peoples grew in population, wealth, and prosperity. Hungus, wasted by consumption, died, and Convall did not long survive him. He departed this life in the fifth year of his reign. A pacific king, though less renowned in the pages of history, is generally more useful to his people than a great warrior, whose subjects may expect to suffer from his ambition.

824.

DONGAL, the son of Solwathius, a man of talents and knowledge, was raised to the Scottish throne, in preference to Alpin the son of late king, upon which a rebellion was stirred up by some young noblemen, who dreaded severe discipline from Dongal; but as Alpin



A. C. 824.

did not wish to disturb the peace of the nation by aspiring to the crown during Dongal's life, that tumult was soon appeased. But the two sons of Hungus being soon carried off by unnatural deaths, Alpin, nephew to Hungus by his mother, claimed the Pictish crown by hereditary right: in which claim he was supported by the Scottish king and nobles. The Picts, however, refused to acede to his demand, it being contrary to their laws, as well as their inclination, to admit of a foreign prince. Meantime they proclaimed Feredeth (a nobleman of considerable eminence amongst them) their king.

Dongallus, whilst he was active in raising an army in support of his friend's title, was drowned by the upsetting of his boat in crossing the Spey, and left Alpin his crown, to compensate for the want of his service, the seventh year of his reign.

ALPIN, now possessed of one kingdom, led the army already raised in pursuit of another sceptre. The adverse hosts met at Restennet. The conflict was desperate and bloody, and the victory doubtful; but Feredeth fell, and his loss was severely felt by the Picts, as his two next successors were void of military talents. However, at length, by a stratagem, the Picts were victorious. Alpin was killed: the place on the banks of the Tay where he

831.



A. C. 824.



fell was long called *Pash-alpin* (Alpin's death.) His head, on a pike, was carried round the Pictish army, and placed on a gibbet in their capital city Abernethy. The Picts then impiously swore on the gospel, that they would carry on war until they should extirpate the whole Scottish race: and it was farther decreed, that whosoever should propose making peace or alliance with that nation should forthwith lose his head. Some of the more moderate nobles who seemed to disapprove of the oath and cruel resolutions, and were for using their success with becoming modesty, were hooted and expelled from the church where they were assembled.

834.

KENNETH, the son of Alpin, was immediately inaugurated on the Scottish throne, and another battle was daily expected, when a sedition broke out among the Picts, which paved the way for their ruin. Meantime some adventurous Scottish youths succeeded in taking down and carrying off the head of Alpin, which, with religious solemnity and royal state, was deposited with the rest of the body in Hyona.

Kenneth having, by many skirmishes, inroads, and depredations, harrassed and weakened the Picts, was still intent upon pursuing his real or pretended right to the Pictish throne, and even upon annihilating that people,



in order to acquire and secure undisturbed dominion over their territories; but not finding his nobles and people hearty in that cause, fell upon a very extraordinary expedient to arouse their ardour, and obtain their concurrence.

A. C. 834.  


Having assembled the nobles to deliberate upon the interests of the kingdom, he entertained them in his palace with a magnificent supper, protracted, by delicious and abundant beverage, to a late hour. After retiring, they soon fell into a sound sleep. Kenneth had prepared a sufficient number of his confidential dependants, who were provided with fishskins, with their scales all fresh, which they spread over their clothes, like a coat of mail: Each bore in one hand a piece of phosphorous wood, and in the other an ox's horn. These romantic knights slid softly into the several apartments of the nobles at the silent hour. Instantly each broke his putrid baton, which, together with the fish scales, emitted a dazzling phosphorous gleam. Meantime each sounded through his horn, announcing that he was a messenger from heaven to warn the nobility of the necessity of assisting their king in asserting his just right to the kingdom of the Picts, who had, by their crimes, drawn down upon themselves the divine vengeance, which was speedily to overtake them, and which no hu-



A. C. 854.

man power could avert. Having delivered their message, those pseudo-celestial heralds folded up their splendid panoply, and vanished with their rays, leaving the astounded nobles in darkness and breathless contemplation of the supernatural vision,—which, having next morning communicated to each other, produced the effect which the contriver had intended and hoped for.

Having collected a numerous army, Kenneth marched them into the Pictish dominions in Stirlingshire; and Drusken, the Pictish king, having assembled a great array of both men and women, together with a good many hired troops from England, passed Kenneth's army in the night, and encamped between them and their home. Next morning the Picts attacked the Scottish army *pele mele*: The English disliking, or pretending to dislike, such disorderly fighting, drew off, and victory declared for Kenneth.

Next year, the hostile armies met again near Scone; and when arrayed in front of each other, Drusken, by a herald at arms, asked an interview with Kenneth, that he might make him an overture, which being granted, Drusken thus addressed the Scottish monarch: "It is doubtless because heaven is propitious to thee, O victorious Kenneth, that the sovereign of the Picts becomes thy suppliant for



A. C. 834.

“ peace on thy own terms. Until this luck-  
“ less hour, the Picts have never been deemed  
“ inferior to the Scotch, though we have alter-  
“ nately conquered and been vanquished by  
“ each other. Many reasons urge the proprie-  
“ ty and sound policy of mutual peace: the  
“ preventing woeful carnage and bloodshed;  
“ the ancient and recent alliances that have  
“ subsisted between us; our conjoint warfare  
“ in foreign expeditions; the mutual destruc-  
“ tion with which war must waste us, whilst  
“ our enemies look on with pleasure, ready, per-  
“ haps, to expel both peoples from their native  
“ soil. It is true that the Pictish goods would  
“ not indemnify the loss of King Alpin and  
“ so many brave nobles who fell with him in  
“ a former battle,—but neither would the Scot-  
“ tish wealth compensate for the loss of Fe-  
“ redeth. It were therefore advisable, in my  
“ opinion, that both of us should content our-  
“ selves with living quietly within our own  
“ boundaries; yet, if enlargement of territo-  
“ ry were required, the Picts would cede to  
“ the Scotch the districts of Horrestia and  
“ Otholinia, (Forfar and Fife.) The event of  
“ war is doubtful: An advantageous and ho-  
“ nourable peace is now in your own power:  
“ victory is in the hands of fortune: fortune is  
“ fickle and capricious: you and we have ex-  
“ perience her inconstancy: she gives and



A. C. 834.

“ recalls her gifts ; and those upon whom she  
“ deceitfully smiles to-day, she is apt, to-mor-  
“ row, to forsake and ruin. The peace I sue  
“ for is useful to both parties ; but to your  
“ people it would be by far the most honour-  
“ able, and would transmit your own name to  
“ posterity as the most glorious monarch that  
“ ever swayed the Scottish sceptre.”

Kenneth replied, that he was well aware of the vicissitudes of fortune, which, nevertheless, seemed, at present, to scowl on the Picts, who were in arms to defraud him of his just right, and which was evidently the most advantageous to both nations, by incorporating both in one : That he might justly be accused of pride and injustice if he refused the Picts a peace, which they themselves would have granted to the Scotch when they had the ascendancy ; but as the Picts had then sworn never to grant or listen to peace with the Scotch, so now these had solemnly agreed that the *sine qua non* condition of peace was, that Drusken should abdicate his crown, and the nobles should place it on his head : That it was idle to speak of granting lands of which the Scottish nation were already in possession. If the terms did not please, the sword must decide.

This was indeed specious reasoning : but the sentiments of both these kings, especially the latter, were far below those of St Edward, king



of England, who declared that he would by no means accept of the greatest monarchy, if it were to cost the blood of a single man.

The battle immediately took place, and was shockingly bloody. Victory declared for Kenneth, and the conqueror pushed his advantage to the extreme. Drusken, in his flight, still surrounded by a chosen band of his defeated army, was hemmed in on the one side by the river Tay, which was then impassable, and on the other by a party of Kenneth's soldiers, who were on the pursuit. An obstinate fight ensued, in which Drusken and his guard were cut in pieces to a man. The arms and spoils of Drusken were sent to Hyona, to be hung up in the church of St Columba as a lasting monument of the victory. These trophies, in my opinion, would have been a more suitable offering to the heathen *Jupiter, the avenger*.

The nobility and chief officers of the Scottish army waited on Kenneth to congratulate him upon his victory, and requested that, after such toil and hard fighting, he would dismiss those who had survived, that they might enjoy among their friends some time of respite and repose; but Kenneth made a reply at which humanity shudders. "A wise general," said he, "ought to profit of his victory, and not allow " his enemy to repose and recover strength, but " either to convert the vanquished into friends



A. C. 834.

“ or exterminate them as enemies : the former,  
“ considering the rooted hatred of the Pictish  
“ against the Scottish nation, is not to be hoped  
“ for ; the latter then becomes necessary. We  
“ must therefore destroy the whole race, man,  
“ woman, and child, lest their progeny, inherit-  
“ ing the malice of their progenitors, might,  
“ when we are least aware, make us pay dear for  
“ this victory.” This resolution, though it seem-  
ed to many barbarously severe, was adopted  
and put in execution through the whole Pic-  
tish dominions, especially at the horrid sack of  
Camelodunum, (a town on the river Carron,)  
where all were butchered without distinction  
of age or sex, sacred or profane. A small num-  
ber of virgins of noble birth fell at the feet of  
the victor, imploring with tears that he would  
restrain his soldiery from slaughtering women ;  
but the brutal fury of Kenneth was not to be  
mollified even by such pleading—all shared the  
same unrelenting cruelty. The town being  
plundered, the walls, the public and private  
buildings, the churches, which had been the  
work of many years, were involved in flames.  
What the fire spared was tumbled down to the  
ground, and all was reduced to ashes, rubbish,  
and ruin.

The garrison of Edinburgh castle (*Castrum  
puellarum*) and all who had fled thither for  
sanctuary, fearing a fate similar to that of



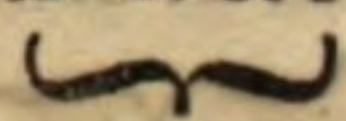
A. C. 839.  


Camelodunum, hastened to Northumberland. Thus, in the beginning of the fifth year of Kenneth's reign, the Pictish kingdom, which had long flourished, became extinct. Their lands were chiefly bestowed upon the Scottish nobility who had distinguished themselves in the late war. New names were given to the places from the new possessors, or according to the genius of the Scottish tongue. The principal Episcopal see was translated from Abernethy, which was destroyed, to the church of St Regulus or St Andrews. We may remark, however, that though a few Episcopal sees had long since been erected in Scotland, as has been already said of the *Soderensis ecclesiae* in the isle of Mann, *Candida Casa*, and Glasgow, yet the country was not yet divided into regular dioceses. The bishops performed their Episcopal functions whithersoever they went, spreading the gospel, and instructing the people. The zeal, piety, and fervent charity of those apostolic men prevented any contention or jealousy amongst them on the score of jurisdiction.

Kenneth caused the laws, which had become voluminous, complex, and confused, to be simplified and abridged, and added some new ones, useful for the polity of the kingdom, and to strengthen ecclesiastical precepts; but all the good which he did to his own subjects, added to all the provocation which he had re-



A. C. 859.



ceived from the Pictish nation, cannot wipe off from his memory the ignominious stain of his barbarous and unrelenting vengeance and cruelty towards the unhappy people whom he exterminated. Yet some of their remains and offspring in England and Denmark contributed much, in all probability, to bring upon the Scottish nation first the inroads of the English and Britons, and afterwards the scourge of Danish invasions.

Kenneth transferred the marble chair (which Simon Breck is said to have brought from Spain,) and which Fergus the first brought to Scotland, and placed it at Dunstaffnage, as the coronation seat of the Scottish monarchs,—Kenneth, I say, transferred that marble to Scone, where, incased in wood, it was employed for the same august ceremony, until it was carried off, as we shall see, by Edward I. of England, in 1296.

Some suppose that the fatality long assigned to that stone was first insculpt on it by Kenneth's order, in the well known following couplet :

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum*

*Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Where'er this marble's placed, there, sure as fate,

Shall be the Scottish monarch's regal seat.

854.

Finally, Kenneth exchanged his ancient and newly acquired territories for the narrow house in Icolmkill, in the twentieth year of his reign.



## SYNOPSIS

### OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION, DURING THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH AGES.

PHOCAS, subject to every vice, and void of every virtue, held the Eastern empire in the beginning of the seventh century. Whilst the barbarous nations from without broke in upon and were desolating the provinces, Phocas, by oppressing and shedding the blood of his subjects, ruined the empire within. Heraclius rid the world of that monster, and recovered much of the lost territories; but the people still groaned under the arbitrary tyranny and insatiable avarice of governors. This emperor, like his predecessors, instead of correcting the political misrule of the state, and attending to the happiness and prosperity of the people, employed himself in making and enforcing rigorous laws against heretics, or in supporting tenets, right or wrong, which he himself had adopted. The persecuted subjects fled to the Arabs, where Pagans, Jews, and professors of all the sects that had arisen since the commencement of Christianity, lived unmolested.



Mahomed, a person though ignorant, yet endowed with talents, enthusiastic and ambitious, assisted by some deep-designing instructors, devised a system of religion and politics, which, he pretended, had been brought to him from heaven by the angel Gabriel, and which was well calculated to unite those jarring sects, and to form a vast army, by which he determined to extend his power and to propagate his religion at the point of the sword. Religious enthusiasm easily coalesces with valour and military talents. Ali, the grand vizir of Mahomed, in his oath of allegiance, calls his master the great prophet of God, and swears he will *smash the teeth, pluck out the eyes, rip up the bellies, and break the legs of all who shall oppose that prophet's doctrine and word.*

Paradise laid open to the soldiers of Mahomed who fell in battle, inspired invincible bravery.

The Hegira began on the 16th July 622, and under Mahomed and his successors during that and the following century the Mahomedans overran Syria, Phœnicia, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, and thus became formidable to all the world, although vast numbers of Mussulmans were killed during these conquests.

The empire of Constantinople became a prey to Saracens, Goths, Huns, Lombards, &c.—



Emperors were made and unmade as internal factions rose and fell. The sources of these revolutions were, the corruption of morals, luxury, ambition, mal-administration, extinction of the love of their country in both the emperors and people. The emperors were still engaged in theological disputes; Phillippicus in re-establishing Monothelism, Leo Isaurien and Constantine Copronymus in beating down images, the Empress Irene in setting them up again.

The Western empire was sadly dismembered. The Lombards possessed a great part of Italy. The part that remained was divided into dutchies : these held of the exarch of Ravenna, who was again subject to the emperors. The Lombards were still encroaching : they profited of the seditions raised in the beginning of the eighth century by Leo the Isaurien and his Iconoclasts to extend their dominion. France was divided into several principalities, the chiefs whereof warred against each other, or, sinking into luxury and effeminacy, left the management of their states to their mayors of the palace. The Roman power was nearly extinct in Spain. Factions raised up and pulled down in that country fourteen sovereigns during the seventh century. The ecclesiastics had then considerable sway. During that age nineteen national councils were held.



These made many canons useful for morality and civil society. They excommunicated the subjects who violated their fidelity to their sovereigns ; but they obliged also the sovereigns to govern with justice and piety. These sovereigns maltreated their people. In the beginning of the eighth century a dissatisfied subject called in the Saracens, who overran the country, and attacked France itself.

Whilst sovereigns, nobles, and warriors exerted their power and violence against the body of the Western empire, the clergy and monks solaced, comforted, and instructed the sufferers. Religion thereby acquired considerable influence over the minds of the people. Judicious sovereigns perceived its growing power. Some princes, well inclined to the increase of religion, and the happiness of the people, and others to promote the views of their ambition, were desirous to conciliate the temporal and spiritual powers with each other, well aware of the mutual assistance they might lend one another. Pepin the Gross convoked a council, in which many useful statutes were enacted to check disorder and to protect the defenceless. Charles Martel, who owed his success to his military talents, was jealous of the ecclesiastic power, and, at first, endeavoured to crush it, but afterwards was reconciled to it. Pepin the Short succoured the popes, in-



creased his own possessions, and was crowned by the pontiff. Pope Adrian, attacked by the Lombards, applied to Charlemagne, who destroyed the power of that turbulent people. That prince, by his great military talents extended his power beyond that of the Western Roman empire, and by his eminent intellectual abilities contrived to improve the civil and mental condition of his subjects. His empire comprehended Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Dalmatia, Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Poland to the Vistula. He judged that, to secure the obedience of so many regions, their reason must be enlightened, and, especially, that the authority of religion must be called in to render the infractions of laws, divine and human, formidable by the sanction of future punishments, and obedience rendered easy by the hope of future rewards. He, therefore, promoted religion, encouraged letters, to which laudable aim Scotland had the honour to contribute by sending him learned men. Finally, that emperor, by the spirit of valour which he kept up, and the excellent discipline of his troops, guarded against the attacks of foreign enemies.

Learning fell greatly off in the seventh age. In the East, the marvellous became the reigning taste. Amongst the Mussulmans, all was enthusiasm and military ardour. In the West,



continual wars had extinguished the study of letters and science. What remained was hid in monasteries. The sacred doctrine of faith was preserved inviolate in virtue of God's promise. The writings of antiquity, both sacred and profane, which would otherwise have been lost amidst ignorance and war, were carefully preserved in the monasteries, and numberless copies of them were transcribed by the labours of the monks. We owe at least this inestimable treasure to those solitary retreats, which we are now pleased to call the receptacles of ignorance and superstition, although, in reality, they engrossed almost all the learning that then remained in the world.

We have just seen, that the vast genius and penetrating judgment of Charlemagne strove to bring back the aurora of learning upon the benighted world : Yet it was only the aurora ; for even in the writings of the famed Alcuin, the learned observe more of labour than genius, more of memory than invention or good selection. His style is neither pure nor elegant. The writers of that age have nothing creative or original.

Yet I cannot help observing, that whoever will take the trouble to read the sessions of the sixth general council, held at Constantinople in 680 and 681, will observe the rules of criticism judiciously applied, and triumphantly



successful. In that council, Monothelism, with all its authors, assertors, and abettors, who did not retract, were condemned. Monothelism is the error that acknowledges only one will and one operation in Christ. It is essential to the human nature in Christ to be capable of willing, acting, knowing, being conscious of its own existence, otherwise the human soul in him would be annihilated or confounded in the divine nature. In Christ, then, there are two distinct wills, but the human is always submissive to the divine will: both operations concur to the same action.

In the year 787 was held the second council of Nice, which was the seventh general council, where three hundred and seventy-seven bishops were assembled. After mature examination of the Scriptures, and the universal doctrine of the church, it was declared, that the church had always believed it lawful and useful to invoke the intercession of the saints, to preserve and venerate their relics, and to retain and respect the images or pictures of our blessed Saviour, of his mother, and other saints, in order to recall the memory of the originals and their virtues, that we may imitate them; but that the honour shewn them was only relative, and was ultimately referred to God, whose gifts and graces we honour.



This doctrine, with regard to the picture of our Saviour himself, was expressed in a couplet of Greek verses, the Latin translation of which is to be met with in different authors as follows:—

Hanc videas, sed mente colas quod cernis in ipsa;

Nam Deus est quod imago docet, non Deus ipsa.

Which may be expressed in English thus:—

Adore what's rightly understood, not what you see.

No God the image is, but points the Deity.

It was ignorance of antiquity that caused Leo, Isaurien, Copronymus, and the Iconoclasts to yield to the reproaches of the Jews and Mussulmans, which they were unable to confute. The fathers of the seventh council easily shewed the universal practice of the church.



## CHAPTER V.

Donald V., a worthless king, loses all the Scottish territories south of the Forth and Clyde—Constantine II. makes wise sumptuary laws and regulations—Scotland invaded by the Danes, who commit great ravages and cruelties—Constantine, having defeated them once, is again defeated and killed—Ethus, Swift-foot—his reign short and evil—prodigies during that reign—Gregory the Great—recovery of lands in England—Gregory invades Ireland—conquers it, and becomes regent of that kingdom—Donald VI. punishes swearing—assists Alfred against the Danes—suppresses a quarrel between the inhabitants of Moray and Ross—Constantine III. foolishly joins the Danes against the English—loses a vast number of his troops in the battle of Bronningfield—loses the Scottish territories in England—abdicates his crown, and becomes a monk—Malcolm I. is threatened with an invasion of English and Danes—These two nations quarrel—Malcolm and Athelstane conclude a peace—Westmoreland and Cumberland ceded to the Scotch—Malcolm is assassinated—Indulph overcomes the Danes, but is unhappily slain—Duff suppresses disorders in the Hebrides—falls sick—is supposed to have been bewitched—is basely murdered—Culen avenges the king's murder—becomes himself a profligate, and is assassinated—Kenneth III. severely punishes robbery and freebooting—overcomes the Danes by the bravery of Hay, who becomes the Earl of Errol—Kennet sullies his glory by the murder of Malcolm Duff—is killed by the malicious contrivance of Fennella—Constantine IV. obtains the crown—Famine and faction afflict the kingdom—Constantine is opposed and worsted by Kenneth, illegitimate brother of Malcolm prince of Cumberland—Constantine and Kenneth fall by mutual wounds—Grime succeeds to the throne—By the mediation of Bishop Fothad, an agreement is made between Grime and Malcolm—Grime, by malversation, loses popularity—loses the battle of Achnabarton—dies—Malcolm II.—The Danes land at Speymouth, overrun Moray—defeat Malcolm—are defeated at Mortlach—After a new invasion, the Danes are again severely beaten by Malcolm's army upon the river Loth—The Danes a third time invade Scotland, land in Buchan, are totally overthrown at Cruden—A peace is concluded, a church built, and a foundation made for prayers to be



said for the slain—The Episcopal see of Mortlach erected—Malcolm is assassinated at Glammis—Duncan, grandson to Malcolm II. succeeds him—Macdowal, the rebel, defeated by Macbeth, cousin to Duncan—Invasion of the Norwegians—battle of Culross—Norwegians defeated by a stratagem at Perth—a reinforcement of Danes defeated by Macbeth and Banquo—Famous prediction of the weird sisters—Macbeth assassinates Duncan—usurps the throne, kills Banquo, becomes a tyrant—is defeated by Malcolm, and killed by Macduff.—Synopsis of Politics, Literature, and Religion during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh ages.

A. C. 854.

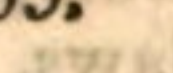
**DONALD V.**, Kenneth's brother, next mounted the throne, than whom a more unworthy never reigned. Addicted he was to idleness, gluttony, drunkenness, voluptuousness, and almost every vice that could degrade human nature, with a total neglect of every duty that became a Christian, a king, or a man. His base example infected the young nobility, and soon found its way to the lowest ranks. Some of the most respectable old nobles ventured to admonish and warn him; but finding their advice useless to him, and dangerous to themselves, they mourned in silence the ills they could not cure. The English and Britons, instigated by the Picts scattered among them, and knowing the Scottish degeneracy, invaded them, under pretence of recovering to the Picts their kingdom unjustly wrested from them. Donald, at the first news of the invasion, cowardly sought a lurking place; but being affronted and stimulated by the nobles, raised an army, by the remaining valour of



which the enemy was completely beaten ; but the victors sinking, with their disgraceful king, into the utmost excess of intemperance and debauchery, the vanquished soon rallied, and attacking the Scotch in their camp, butchered them like hogs ; seized and made a mockery of their phantom of a king, buried in sleep and wine ; captured the surviving nobility, and, at length, made a peace on the terms that the Forth and Clyde should be the marches,—the English to keep the east and the Britons the west country, south of these rivers. A stone bridge was built at Stirling, with a cross of stone erected in the middle for the barrier. The Picts perceiving they were to receive nothing, stole away to Denmark who could—the rest were put to death by the possessors of their lands. Donald was released ; but not mending his manners, he was seized by the nobles, and cast into a dungeon, where, a few days after, he made away with himself.

A. C. 854.  


CONSTANTINE, the son of Kenneth, was then seated on the marble chair at Scone, and invested with the regalia. His first thoughts were turned to the recovery of the territory lost by the vices and mismanagement of his predecessor ; but, upon the suggestion of his nobles, that it were better first to correct the disorders which had pervaded the kingdom,

859.  




A C. 859.



and allow time to his subjects to recover their numbers, their virtue, and warlike spirit, Constantine listened to that wise counsel, and summoned a convention of the states at Scone, where, after mature deliberation, it was enacted, 1<sup>o</sup>, That the clergy should, with unremitting diligence, apply themselves to their sacred duties, the instruction of the people, and assiduous attendance in the churches, preaching with accuracy and dignity the doctrine of Christ and the morality of the gospel; that they should strengthen, by their own example, what they inculcated to others; that they should keep neither dogs nor horses for pleasure, bear no arms, nor plead civil causes; that they should be exempted from serving in the army; that they should confine themselves strictly within their own sphere, and live upon the salaries allowed them; that whosoever did not conform to these rules should, for the first transgression, be severely fined, and for the second, be degraded from their sacred orders.— 2<sup>do</sup>, That the young men should abstain from delicate food, should use what was wholesome and simple, and confine themselves, like their ancestors, to one regular meal in the day; that they should totally refrain from drunkenness, which was hereby made a capital crime; that they should inure themselves to manly exercises, such as the race, wrestling, throwing the

Sumptuary  
laws.



bar, or missile weapons, archery, and such like; that they should sleep upon a flag or plank, covered only with a pailleasse or sack full of straw :—by such hardy exercises and abstemious habits, they would be enabled to bear every bodily fatigue, and to renounce every incentive of effeminacy or lasciviousness that tended to corrupt the mind. From many of these regulations the advanced in years were exempted; but, in the simplicity and frugality of the table, they were to set an example to the youth. All scientific cooks, tippling hosts, confectioners, and such like, were expelled. Brothels and gaming-houses were destroyed; and whoever should despise or infringe those statutes were to be summarily hung on gibbets, to deter others. By these observances, the face of the country was soon changed. Gluttons became temperate, debauchees chaste; the effeminate became manly, able to undergo labour and toil, useful to themselves and to their country, and Constantine became a popular and respected king.

Although some of these regulations may appear to us very severe, yet it is probable they were conformable to the ancient habits of the country, and shew the difference between what simple nature requires, and what indulgence and custom has rendered necessary.

The prescriptions which Constantine laid

A. C. 859.





A. C. 859.

down for the clergy, shew that in Scotland the same causes had produced the same effects as in other countries of Europe. After the barbarians had overrun the Roman empire, some of those who became Christians were often admitted among the clergy, and too often continued their former habits and pursuits; and hence from that time we often perceive laws of the church forbidding the clergy to bear arms, to hunt, or to keep hawks and horses for pleasure, or the tumultuous and violent exercise of the chase. These, and the dissipation and expense which attend them, seem ill suited to the modesty and gravity becoming the pastors of the church, and the essential duties of study, prayer, the care of the poor, the sick, and the dying, the instruction of their flocks, and a regular and mortified life: The going to fight was still more inconsistent with the clerical character,—though we find both these rules and reasons often disregarded in Scotland, as well as in other countries.

The convalescent state of the Scottish nation was, ere long, troubled by a rebellion, raised by one Ewen, from the Hebrides, whom the king had promoted to the command of a fort in Lochaber; but this sedition was soon quashed, by seizing and hanging its leader. Yet this disturbance was immediately followed by another more serious. A great army of



Danes, under the command of Hungar and Hubba, landed in Fife; and as that nation was still heathen, and had, moreover, imbibed an implacable hatred against the Christian name and religion, they not only plundered the country, but also robbed the churches, set them on fire, and tortured and massacred the priests. There were at that time, especially in Fife and Lothian, a great number both of Scotch and English zealous and fervent Christians, some of whom hid themselves in dens and caverns; others, abandoning the fields and villages, fled whithersoever they hoped for shelter and safety. A great many Scotch, with their bishop Hadrian, sailed to the isle of May, at the mouth of the Frith of Forth, about six miles distant from the coast of Fife, where they took shelter in a beautiful monastery which stood there. Thither the cruel Danes followed, and setting fire to the building, consumed to ashes those harmless and defenceless victims. The names of a few of those innocent martyrs have reached us, viz. the venerable Bishop Hadrian, Bishop Stolbrand, Glodian, and Monan archdean of St Andrew's. They were held in veneration by both English and Scotch, and many miracles\* were attributed to their intercession.

A. C. 859.

  
Danish invasion.

\* With regard to miracles, I have to remark in general, that, in all supernatural facts, every person of sound sense ought to be reserved and discreet in believing them; as also, not to be unreasonably sceptical in



A. C. 859.



Constantine, grieving to hear of the kingdom laid waste, and the inhabitants butchered, hastened with an army to attack the Danes, who were then divided into two separate armies, about a quarter of a mile distant from one another, but separated by the small river Leven, which fortunately was then so swoln by an immense fall of rain that it was not fordable. Constantine attacked those on his side of the river; and though the Scotch were at first struck with the uncommon size of the Danes, as well as with their unusual panoply, (for they wore above their armour a kind of frock of snowy white linen chequered with red stripes,) nevertheless the Scotch gained a complete victory; but indulging too great joy, and foolish confidence from their advantage, they gave the foe an opportunity to defeat them in the second battle. Constantine was taken in the flight, and put to death in the Black or Devil's cave, and the Danes marched for England, laying waste the countries through which they passed. Constantine reigned sixteen years.

Constantine  
killed.

rejecting them. That God is all-powerful to perform them, every Christian will allow; and that the saints have credit and interest with God, all Catholics readily admit. But Catholics no more than Protestants are called upon to believe all the reported miracles ascribed to the intercession of saints. The proofs ought to be accurately examined and weighed according to the rules of sound criticism and good sense. To assert a false miracle, knowing it to be false, or having just grounds to doubt of its truth, were to give testimony against God, 1 Cor. xv. 15. Therefore true piety, so far from inclining us to believe them lightly, obliges us to examine rigorously the weight and credibility of the testimony on which the facts depend.



ETHUS ALIPES, or Swift-foot, brother of the late king, was crowned at Scone, but proved a worthless prince, and was deposed and cast into prison, where he died of grief a few days after, having reigned only two years. Our historians relate a great many ill-boding prodigies seen during this short reign : amongst others a portentous comet, and shoals of monstrous fishes, resembling the human species, swimming with half their bodies above the water, and having a black skin which covered their heads and necks. They called them *basinates* or helmet-bearers. The country people called them sea-monks from their hoods. Spalding, in his History of the Troubles, &c. in Scotland, in his own time, relates that a sea-monster was seen in the river Don, in the month of June 1635, having a head like to a great mastiff dog, and hands, arms, and paps like a man, short-legged, and short-footed, with a tail. He adds, "it came for no good token to noble Aberdeen." I leave the credit of these stories to the judgment of my readers, and their explication to naturalists, diviners, and soothsayers.

GREGORY, justly called Great, was next raised to the throne, amidst the universal applause of the nation ; and Providence seems to have committed the crown and sceptre to him for the advancement of the divine hon-

A. C. 874.

876.



A. C. 876.



our, and the relief of a distressed people. “ A  
 “ wise king is the upholding of his people :  
 “ as the judge of the people is himself, so are  
 “ his ministers : and what manner of man the  
 “ ruler of a city is, such also are they that  
 “ dwell therein.”—*Son of Sirach*, ch. x.

Gregory, sensible that the firmest support of kings and kingdoms is the divine protection, without which thrones are tottering and kingdoms unstable, was careful to begin his reign with the best auspices. He therefore summoned a council of the nation at Forfar, to promote, in the first place, the knowledge, the extension, and observance of the true Christian religion, and that all sincere lovers of piety might enjoy the open profession and free exercise thereof. It was therefore enacted by unanimous suffrage, that priests should be exempted from public taxes, and from serving in the army ; that henceforth they should not be amenable to the civil courts, but should be judged by their bishops only ; that these ecclesiastical superiors should have the inspection of the public and private conduct of the inferior clergy, with power to enforce due observance of their sacred obligations, and to punish the neglect or infraction of them : The bishops are empowered to prescribe what rules they judge proper to give effect to the observance of the laws of the church, for the

Religious  
and civil  
offices for  
the Bishops.



good of religion: they are to judge, and decide in all matters of faith and discipline: they are to regulate the laws concerning marriage, and the tithes of fruit and grain formerly assigned for the maintenance of the clergy: they are to settle all disputes arising from testaments, last-wills, legacies, and legatees: they are to interpret all laws regarding religion; to judge such as are accused of blasphemy, perjury, or diabolical arts, and to prescribe the punishment to be inflicted on the offenders. Those who refuse to submit to their sentence are to be excommunicated, \*deprived of the sacraments, and from entering the churches, or assisting at the holy sacrifice: that, moreover, whilst they remain under the censures, they are incapable of holding any magistracy, can succeed to no inheritance, nor have the benefit of the civil laws, and that even their society is to be shunned.

Gregory also took an oath (which succeeding kings did also at their coronation) to maintain and defend the church with its ministers in all ancient liberties and privileges, and to suffer no one to disobey the lawful authority of the clergy, or molest their persons.

Gregory was possessed of an elevated and genuine piety: he was wise and grave in his

A. C. 876.



\* Non obtemperantes ipsorum decretis---prohibere sacris, templis ac sacrificiis interdicere.---*Boeth.* lib. 9. fol. 212.



A. C. 876.



speech ; there was such weight and measure in his words, and so unexceptionable were his morals, that whatever he said or did seemed weighed in the exactest scales. He had conceived, from his early youth, a high esteem for the virtue of purity and chastity, which, to maintain inviolate, he resolved to live single, watched all the avenues of his soul, kept the strictest restraint upon his senses and every liberty that could expose him to lubricity : he led an abstemious life in the midst of a court, was sparing of sleep, and shunned familiarity or frequent society with the other sex. His civil improvements, his inflexible administration of justice, his valour and military skill, added lustre to his high station.

Recovery  
of lands in  
England.

With an army which placed the greatest confidence in their leader, Gregory soon recovered the territories which the vices, cowardice, and incapacity of Donald had lost. He drove the Danes out of Scotland and Northumberland, and caused the Britons not only to abandon Scotland, but also to cede to the Scotch, Cumberland and Westmoreland : all which success he attributed to the favour of the Almighty, and encouraged his army and all his subjects to keep up a grateful sense of the divine goodness, and to persist in their respect for religion, and in the practice of the virtues it inculcated.



To punish the Irish, for an inroad, and considerable depredation and devastation made in Galloway, Gregory, with a considerable army, followed them into their own country, overcame their army upon the river Bann; besieged and took the towns and forts as he went on; defeated another army near Dublin; besieged that city, which, after mature deliberation, opened its gates, and surrendered at the discretion of the victor.

Having sent before him a part of his army, to make sure against fraud or ambush, Gregory entered the city with great pomp, and was met by the nobility of both sexes in great splendour,—Bishop Cormack in his pontificals, the clergy in their robes, the religious in their habits, then the citizens and all the multitude, in a suppliant manner imploring the clemency of the conqueror.

Gregory commanded his soldiers to rest their arms, and advancing towards Bishop Cormack, who held in his hand a crucifix, alighted from his horse, knelt down, and devoutly kissed the cross, listened to the thanks which the bishop, in name of the whole nation, returned to God and to the generous and clement victor. Gregory then, attended by a suitable guard, visited the churches of the blessed Virgin and of St Patrick, to pay his devotions.

A. C. 876.

Invades  
Ireland.



A. C. 876.

Inverness  
Inverness

After the solemn celebration of divine service, he retired to the citadel.

The night following, a few disorderly soldiers broke into some private houses, and offered violence to the virgins and matrons. Next morning the culprits were sought for with great diligence, and, by Gregory's orders, were fairly tried, and being found guilty, suffered the just punishment of their crimes. By this impartial justice, and love of order and decency, Gregory rose still higher in the esteem and respect of all.

Retaining a suitable guard in the city, he sent back the rest of his army to their camp, and staid himself for some time in Dublin, during which he convened an assembly of the chiefs of Ireland, where it was agreed that Duncan, the minor, heir of the Irish crown, in some well fortified place, should be delivered to the tuition of able preceptors, by whose assiduous care he might receive the best education and principles; that Gregory, meantime, should be regent of the kingdom, have all the strong-holds given under his power, and should appoint all the magistrates, who should administer justice according to the laws of Ireland; that no Englishman, Briton, or Dane should enter Ireland, even for the purposes of trade, without the passport of Gregory, or persons appointed by him for that

Becomes  
regent.



purpose. To the observance of these conditions the Irish nobles made oath, and highly complimented Gregory's moderation, who laid no claim to the kingdom of Ireland, which he had in his power, and only for the benefit of the righteous heir claimed the regency until that heir should be fit to assume the reigns of government.

A. C. 876.  


Gregory now returned home, where he governed his kingdom in peace and good order, himself the model of princes, the father of his people, and the example of Christian virtues. Amongst many improvements which he made for the civilization and decoration of Scotland, he raised Aberdeen to the dignity of a city, and endowed its church with many privileges and lands. He died at an advanced age in the eighteenth year of his reign, in the district of Garioch, in a fort called Dundore, and was buried in the abbey of Icolmkill with all the solemnity and piety of funeral rites. He is justly held by the Scottish nation as one of their most worthy and renowned princes. On his grave a stately tomb was erected by his successor,

DONALD V. son of Constantine II. who received the supreme command from the hands of Gregory in his last sickness, and proved worthy of the high charge. Although he was not endowed with the military talents of his

893.



A. C. 893.  


predecessor, yet he was eminent for sincere faith and exemplary piety: he was a true friend and protector of all virtuous persons, and especially of the poor and defenceless. He was well qualified to administer civil government with great wisdom, and to diffuse happiness among his subjects. He was careful that his people, inured to labour, and simple in their manners, might gain a comfortable subsistence, and might grow in numbers and wealth.

He encouraged virtue, and suppressed vice, especially that of profane swearing, cursing, and blasphemy; and he enacted, that those who were obstinately addicted to such impieties should be branded on the lips with a hot iron.

Although such severe punishment may be revolting to our feelings and manners at the present day, yet this sacrilegious as well as senseless custom, now so common as to be considered by some as a genteel accomplishment, ought to meet with the marked disapprobation it so well deserves from every friend of morality, piety, and good order.

Donald, however, did not neglect the security of his kingdom against invading foes; for, upon hearing that a Danish army, under the command of Gormund, had landed in Northumberland, he immediately marched towards that quarter; but having learnt that the Danes had passed the Humber to attack the



English, Donald sent 5000 men to the assistance of Alfred, who, in a bloody battle, overcame the Danes, but afterwards made peace on condition that Gormund should receive baptism, and, together with his army, profess the Christian faith. Donald also suppressed a bloody feud between the inhabitants of Moray and Ross, having hanged the authors of the quarrel: Finally, he died, respected and regretted, in the eleventh year of his reign. A marble monument was erected to him in Hyona, where he was buried.

A. C. 893.

CONSTANTINE III., the son of Ethus, Swift-foot, next received the supreme command,—a person much fitter to fill a private than a public station, especially that of a king. A misunderstanding arising between the Danes and the English, prevented the latter, for some time, from attempting to recover what Gregory had gained from them. Edward, the son of Alfred, had made peace with Cithric, king of the Danes, who was in England, and had given him his daughter Beatrix in marriage, agreeing that, if male issue sprung from that marriage, it should succeed to Edward. Meantime, to secure this arrangement, Edwin, brother to Edward, was sent to sea in a battered leaky vessel, that he might perish; which accordingly happened: But the Dane, impatient of delay, wished to make away with

904.



A. C. 937.



his father-in-law. Edward, informed by his daughter of that plot, resolved to take the start, and, by means of his said daughter, poisoned Cithric. Aulafe and Godfrey, sons of Cithric by a former marriage, succeeded their father, and, finding out the guilt of their step-mother, invented a most cruel punishment. They roasted eggs hard in the embers, and put them into her arm-pits, tying her arms closely upon her breast, then set her naked upon a hot anvil, until she expired in that horrid torture.

Battle of  
Bronning-  
field.

Abdicates  
the crown.

Constantine, by the promise of an immense bribe, senselessly joined the Danes against the English, and sent an army of 20,000 troops to his new ally. But Athelstane, the natural son of Edward, succeeding his father, and having, during four days, with his people, devoutly supplicated the divine assistance, overcame, with a very inferior army, his leagued foes, and recovered from the Scotch the conquests they had made in England, viz. Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. Malcolm, prefect of Cumberland, and general of the Scottish troops, wounded, and carried on a litter, brought the unwelcome news to Constantine, who abdicated his crown, and became a monk among the Culdees of St Andrews,—a vocation much better suited to his capacity, though he had reigned forty years,—or perhaps



the forty years comprehends also the time he lived after his abdication.

A. C. 945.

MALCOLM I., son of Donald, next ascended the throne. He was a prince of good dispositions, and possessing abilities fit to govern the nation in peace, or to defend it in war. He would willingly have attempted to regain the lands in England which the imprudence of his predecessor had lost ; but as a great part of the Scottish army, and almost all the flower of the nobility, had fallen in the battle of Bronningfield, he deemed it more adviseable to content himself, in the meantime, with protecting what remained, and to negotiate a peace with the English, until Scotland should recover strength; but before he had time to send an embassy for that purpose to Athelstane, he learnt that the English and Danes had united their strength to invade Scotland. Fortunately, however, for the Scotch, the confederate army was compounded of heterogeneous matter, and the two parties quarrelling on their march, a most bloody affray ensued, which greatly exhausted the English, though victorious, and forced the desperate remains of the Danes to retreat to Westmoreland, from whence, having collected transport vessels, they invaded and plundered the isle of Mann, and thence, for greater security, carried their booty to Ireland. Malcolm caused the bishops to announce a public and

Threatened  
invasion.



A. C. 943.



universal thanksgiving to Almighty God in all the churches throughout the kingdom, for the merciful interposition of Divine Providence in their behalf, which was cheerfully and religiously complied with.

Malcolm and Athelstane being then equally desirous of peace, a treaty was concluded between them, that Northumberland, now chiefly inhabited by people of Danish extraction, should be ceded to the English, whilst the Scotch should possess Cumberland and Westmoreland, on this condition that the prince of Scotland, that is, heir-apparent to the crown, should govern these counties, and do homage for them to the English king. Indulphus, therefore, son of the late Constantine, was installed prince of Cumberland, and Malcolm, during the remainder of his reign, applied himself to the civil, political, and religious melioration of his kingdom. After having rendered much essential service to his country, whilst he was making a general survey of his dominions for the exact administration of justice, he gave offence to some licentious depredators, by the severe punishment of certain robbers of their band, and was basely murdered during the night, by a conspiracy of villains, after a reign of nine years.

Malcolm  
murdered.

The murderers were taken and executed in a manner too shocking to our feelings, but,



doubtless, in some sort necessary in those rude times, to deter inhuman ruffians, if they could be intimidated, from the commission of such consummate guilt.

A. C. 945.  


It were certainly to be wished that I could give a more circumstantial detail of the manners and customs of Scotland, and of the men and means employed for promoting religious knowledge and moral virtue about this period of our history; but the unhappy wars and revolutions to which our country has been subjected, have deprived us of the documents that would have afforded us a minute acquaintance with the manners and dispositions of our ancestors in those remote times. We can hardly expect generally enlarged knowledge, or strict and severe morality, in our own country, in an age when all Asia and Europe were convulsed: when in both east and west there were perpetual wars and revolutions in states and empires, as well as private intrigues, assassinations, and imprisonments. All was full of disorder. Humanity was but little respected. The retreats of letters and science were disturbed; the asylums of virtue were violated. Everybody was obliged to arm himself for his own defence. War produced licentiousness, inflamed the passions, and extinguished knowledge amongst clergy and laity. Yet this age, so productive of other evils, gave birth to no



A. C. 952.

new heresy, and Scotland, amidst all its misfortunes, was happily preserved from novelties in religion, and steadily persevered in the communion of the Catholic church throughout the world. The respectable bishops and their clergy, doubtless, profited of the common truths of religion, that the most ignorant knew and believed. They would paint, in the most lively colours, the rewards of virtue and the punishments of vice in the life to come. In times of trouble and confusion, or when passions were strong, religion would slacken ; but when the calm returned, the images of heaven and hell would also return ; remorse would agitate, and especially the example of a pious king would add strength to the admonitions of zealous ministers. The exterior rites, also, of the Catholic religion were well calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of those rude people, as they still do upon the most refined. The venerable and solemn aspect of their churches ; the riches of their ornaments and vestments ; the grave and impressive ceremonies of the sacrifice of the altar ; the pompous processions which attended the funerals of their kings, together with the prayers and devotions with which they were accompanied ; the celebration of the great festivals, &c.—all contributed to cherish an awe and respect for religion.



INDULPH, son of Constantine III., after the funeral rites were performed for Malcolm, was seated in the marble chair at Scone, and had the diadem placed on his head. Avalassus, the Dane, courted his alliance against the English, to revenge, he said, the death of the Scotch who fell at Bronningfield; but Indulph persisted in the league made with the English, and sent ten thousand troops to the assistance of Edmund, who, with this help, overcame the Danes, and dismissed the Scottish auxiliaries with great praise and reward.

A. C. 961.

Haggon, the Norwegian, and Helric, the Dane, to revenge the defeat of their countrymen in Northumberland, with a great fleet, sailed for Albion, and attempted to land, first near the mouth of the Forth, and then of the Tay; but being repulsed in both places, they coasted Buchan, and, coming to the Moray frith, landed in the Boyne. Indulph followed thither with an army, and drove them back to their ships with great slaughter; but scouring the neighbourhood with some troops, Indulphus accidentally fell in with a party of Danes in a glen, who had not been in the battle, and hence a fight ensued, in which the Danes were indeed cut in pieces, but, unfortunately, Indulph received a deadly wound in the head, and was carried first to the town of Cullen, and afterwards, with mournful funeral

Danes  
repelled.Indulph  
slain.



A. C. 961.



pomp, to the royal cemetery in Hyona. He had reigned nine years, and was succeeded by

DUFF, the son of Malcolm, who having established Culen, son of Indulph, as prince of Cumberland, instantly set out for the Hebrides, where he understood great predatory disorders and oppression of the peasantry were carried on. There he summoned the thanes of the isles before him, and swore that if any of the poorer inhabitants should henceforth be harassed by those freebooters, he would not only punish the actors, but also those whose duty it was to prevent them. Many were caught and punished; others, dreading a similar fate, fled into Ireland, or, notwithstanding their better birth, were forced to apply to some mechanic trade or rustic labour for their maintenance. Many of the nobles were highly displeased with this severity against their order; and murmurs were circulated among them that, whilst those who were nobly born were disgraced by labour unsuitable to their rank, the dregs of the people were raised to honourable and lucrative offices. Meanwhile the king fell into a languid sickness, which baffled the skill of the best physicians; perpetual wakefulness, and profuse perspiration, wasted him to a skeleton: yet his pulse was regular, his colour fresh, and his appetite tolerably good. A rumour began to run, that he had fallen under



A. C. 961.

the incantations of certain famed witches at Forres. That report reaching the ears of the king, he sent certain confidential servants to investigate the matter secretly, who, gaining admittance to Donevald, the master of the fort at Forres, and who had continued faithful to the king, his master, whilst many of the Murray nobility rebelled against him, made known to him their errand. Donevald having learned that the *bonne amie* of one of his soldiers in the fort was the daughter of one of the enchantresses, and that she had let drop some hints of the sorcery to her gallant, immediately secured the damsel, and forced her to reveal the whole devilish operation. The witches were surprised in the exercise of their spells; and we are told, that whilst one of the sisterhood turned, upon a wooden spit before the fire, a waxen image of the king, constructed, as was supposed, by the arch-demon himself, another of the same school sung her charms, and then poured a certain liquor slowly upon the statue or effigy. According to the interpretation of these weird sisters, the vocal charm kept his Majesty awake: whilst the effigy was set before the fire, a copious sweat broke out upon him: whilst the liquor was poured, he was consumed and wasted; and that when the waxen image should be totally dissolved, the king must die. They further

Pretended  
witchcraft.



A. C. 961.

declared, that they had been hired by the nobles of Murray to the performance of the diabolical enchantment.

The enchanting apparatus was destroyed, the witches burnt, and the king speedily recovered.\* Of this wonderful story the exte-

\* Witchcraft, magic, divination, sorcery, &c. are supposed to be supernatural powers or foreknowledge, acquired by a compact with and assistance afforded by the devil, or certain genii or demons.

The origin of such pretended evil arts is the same as that of Polytheism, and a necessary consequence of the belief of a plurality of deities.

Paganism held it for certain, that a man may have intercourse with those demons, who were worshipped as gods, and might thereby attain to supernatural power or skill. It was believed that, by certain invocations called charms, the genii or demons might be set a-working,—that the dead might be evoked from their graves and conversations held with them, which was termed *necromancy*: Things future might be learned by different kinds of divination,—damage or diseases might be brought upon hated persons, &c. None of the facts recorded in Scripture, such as the false miracles of Pharaoh's magicians,—the evils inflicted upon Job,—the persons possessed by devils mentioned in the Gospel, nor even the witch of Endor's attempt to evoke Samuel's spirit,—prove that there ever was a real compact between the spirit of darkness and those who had recourse to him. That witch had no power to evoke the dead. Almighty God, to punish Saul for his criminal curiosity, sent Samuel, or something in his likeness, to inform Saul of his approaching death. The witch herself was frightened at an event which she had not expected. The Scripture informs us that the devil can do no harm without God's permission; therefore, no person can have the devil at command to make him act at pleasure.

Yet Almighty God very justly forbade those wicked practices of charms, incantations, divinations, &c. These machinations necessarily supposed a confidence in these demons, independent of God and even contrary to his will, and such operations were generally intended to do mischief. The practitioners of such incantations, &c. were justly punished by the civil magistrate, if evidently proved guilty; because, although they had no compact with the devil, nor could the devil obey them without permission, yet it is clear they had the will of having a wicked commerce with Satan, and that for the worst of purposes. It is the public interest to rid society of such monsters.

Although we often meet with the operations of witchcraft and pretended divination in Scottish history, yet their prohibition and punishment had never been formally introduced into the criminal code until the Reformation became prevalent in Scotland, viz. the year 1563. From that period down to 1722, many unfair and even ridiculous trials took place,—many cruel deaths were unjustly inflicted, and many tortures, at which humanity shudders, were invented and arbitrarily imposed upon the unhappy persons who were (with or without grounds) suspected of this crime.

A Major Weir, in 1670, *dreaded for his sorceries and admired for his gift of prayer*, while in prison, had sent for the minister of Ormistone, in order to confess his sins to him; *which confession the minister gave in*



rior part may be true, but every sensible person will laugh at the supposed effect of the incantations. The king no doubt mended, but not for the safety of the Murray rebels, whom he caught and hanged without much ceremony. Amongst the culprits were some handsome young men, relations of the said Donevald, who, from youthful levity, had been drawn into the revolt by evil advice. That the lives of these might be spared, Donevald earnestly pleaded, but pleaded in vain.

A. C. 966.  


Donevald highly resented in his bosom the refusal; and being importuned by his lady, an artful and revengeful woman, discovered to her the cause of the sorrow which she had read in his countenance and demeanour. They soon contrived to glut their vengeance by the king's death.

The king slept within the fort: and on the evening before he intended to leave that place, after supper, he went as usual to the chapel, where he spent a considerable time in his devotions: then calling those whom he accounted his faithful servants, and principal assistants in quashing the late rebellion, (amongst which favourites Donevald was eminent) he returned them his warmest thanks, accompanied with considerable presents; then, after some conde-

*evidence against the unhappy man when tried for his life.—Arnot's Criminal Trials, page 403-4.—Query. Whether did the penitent or the confessor deserve the greater punishment?*



A. C. 966.

scending and friendly conversation, retired to rest with only two chamberlains for his guard. But those guards, when the king fell asleep, returned to Donevald and his lady, by whom they were entertained with delicious fare and strong beverage until a late hour, when, overcome with guzzling and drunkenness, they fell into a deep sleep, during which Donevald and his bribed servants easily executed the horrid and premeditated murder of the king. The body was conveyed away by the postern gate to the distance of two miles, and buried deep in the bed of the river Findhorn, that no trace might be discovered.

The murderers, however, were soon detected. A criminal conscience is ever alarmed. Donevald, hearing of the formidable investigation and vengeance which Culen, now king, had sworn to make and execute, fled to the sea,—the sea, exasperated at its iniquitous burden, cast him back upon his pursuers. The servants, too, the instruments of the nefarious crime, were caught, and suffered with their master the just punishment of their guilt, and, as it often happens amidst intemperate rage, many innocent persons suffered with the guilty, for all within the fort, the clergy excepted, were put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.

The body of the murdered king was dug up, which is said to have been fresh, and nowise



discoloured ; and that as soon as it was brought above ground, the sun, which had not been seen since the horrid act was committed, shone forth with great splendour, and the surrounding fields, at an unusual season, appeared adorned with a variety of flowers. Hence, a church built on the bank of the river, near where the body was found, with the adjoining village, received the name of Killflos, or *Temple of Flowers*, otherwise called Kynloss. A famous abbey of Cistertian monks, dedicated to the blessed Virgin, was founded there by King David 1150, remarkable for the good order and religious observance of its inmates.

A. C. 966.  


The body, I say, of King Duffus, was dug up, wound in fine linen, clothed in the royal robes, and laid in a coffin lined with wax-cloth, and placed on a hearse by the priests. The hearse was covered with black, upon which was extended a cross of fine white cambrick. The hearse was drawn by six horses covered with black, surmounted with white crosses. In the order of the procession the bishops and priests were next the body, then the religious orders in their habits ; the nobility followed next, and after them the officers and servants of the court ; a vast concourse of people filled up the funeral train. In this order they performed their long and laborious journey to the island of Hyona, where the corpse was magnificently



A. C. 966.

entombed with all the gravity of solemn and pious rites.

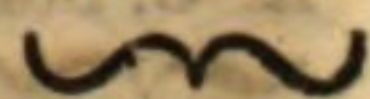
The beginning of Culen's reign excited higher expectations of his wise government than the sequel justified. Like Roboam, he soon departed from the wise counsels of the senior nobility, and gave himself up to the society, advice, and licentiousness of a set of dissolute young noblemen and flattering parasites, to whom he gave up the reins so freely, that their profligacy of manners, and glaring acts of rapine and oppression, went beyond what had ever been witnessed in former reigns. Those who accused or sought after the guilty were not thanked. Even criminals who were convicted escaped with impunity. Banditti, headed by flagitious young men of high birth, entered the habitations of the industrious peasantry, consumed their substance, and, if they met with any resistance, burnt their houses, and cruelly maltreated their persons. Traders were plundered, but the clergy especially were the objects of their hatred and malice: these they wantonly scourged, bruised, and banished from their houses, which they pillaged even of their furniture; insomuch that the whole kingdom seemed to be going to wreck and ruin, by a total contempt of every law divine and human. Some of the virtuous nobility admonished Culen pretty sharply of his re-



missness, and of its pernicious effects. He replied, that he was well aware it was no easy matter to set an old head on young shoulders: youths were not born grave elders: the giddiness of that age naturally wore off in maturer years: that the buoyancy of juvenile spirits ought not to be too severely checked: that his predecessors, Indulph and Duff, had governed too rigidly, and had thereby created disaffection in the nobles, and brought on their own unhappy and immature deaths: that, instructed by their fate, he meant to secure the allegiance and fidelity of his subjects by love rather than by fear. His speech was loudly applauded by the depraved and worthless, who hated upright judges and magistrates. The wiser and better part of the nobility withdrew with sorrow from a corrupt court and a government threatening ruin. Their places were soon filled with the basest and most abandoned characters, who, by their enchanting, luxurious, voluptuous, and lascivious conversations, exalted and painted in the highest colours every sensual pleasure, and every base and filthy gratification—inso much, that they entirely destroyed every vestige of good disposition in the heart of the unhappy prince; and every incentive was employed to excite the desire of vile and brutal pleasures. Drunken sports were exhibited, interlarded with the grossest inde-



A. C. 966.



cencies, and the Bacchanalian guests were crowned with ivy. The king, lost to every sense of dignity, honour, and shame, wallowed in the mire of the most shocking and disgusting filthiness. Not the most respectable matrons, nor the modesty of virgins, even those consecrated to God, nor the nearest ties of consanguinity, at which nature revolts, were spared; all were dragged indiscriminately by infamous panders, to gratify the insatiable lust of this wicked prince, and his beastly associates; in-somuch that this contemptible and wasted debauchee brought upon himself a shameful and loathsome disease, by which he became the sport and the horror even of his infamous companions, pimps, and accomplices.

The patience of those nobles, who still respected virtue and decency, being worn out, and no longer able to endure that so vile a monster should rule over, corrupt, and destroy a brave and once virtuous nation, convened at Scone to depose him, and confer the supreme command on a more worthy person. Culen, conscious of their intentions, endeavoured to crawl thither, but when he had reached the fort of Methven, attended by a weak guard, Cadhardus, the thane of the place, (on whose daughter Culen had committed a rape,) stimulated by rage and a sense of injured honour,



rashly put a sudden and miserable end to this disgraceful phantom of royalty.

A. C. 966.  


What a curse for a nation when the sovereign not only yields himself up to vice, but seems to dignify it by the favours he confers upon his imitators, or the vile instruments or panders of his pleasures. The mischief spreads from rank to rank like a pestilence; and although, in rude times and nations, the infection and imitation be more open and discernible, yet amongst peoples highly enlightened by science, and arrived at an eminent degree of politeness and civilization, it is no less real, and scarcely less frequent, Culen reigned four years.

Robberies  
suppressed.

The death of Culen occasioned so much gladness as to hinder any prosecution for the illegal manner by which it was effected; and

KENNETH III. the son of Malcolm, was, by universal suffrage, raised to the throne. His first study was to reform the vices which had so widely over-run and disgraced the nation. Knowing that in every country, and especially in Scotland, the example of the king is either a guiding star to point out the proper tract, or a deceitful meteor to mislead, bewilder, and ruin, he was careful to make his conduct a pattern of chastity, sobriety, abstemiousness, liberality, justice, and other moral virtues. He banished from his court all pernicious, idle, or

970.



A. C. 970.

Robberies  
suppressed.

useless persons, such as usurers, flatterers, parasites, buffoons, &c. He promoted concord and unanimity at home and abroad, and punished severely the authors of internal sedition. His maxim was, that his courtiers should so regulate their lives as to be always prepared for death, and that the labouring part of the state should be as industrious and diligent as if they were never to die. By these means he prevented the genius of his subjects from languor and torpid inactivity, and inured their bodies, by exercise and labour, to bear any fatigue. But the great point he had still in view was to purge the kingdom from confederacies and gangs of robbers, which infested the country, annoyed the populace, and took away the security of person and property.

He summoned the delinquents to appear at Lenrick, an ancient and populous town of Kyle, where the assizes were usually held; but the greater part of the culprits being allied to families of the best blood in the kingdom, by advice of their friends, and fearing the issue of their trial, fled to the Hebrides, or to such distant places as they hoped they could best conceal themselves. The king, though he understood that it was chiefly owing to the nobility that the accused had neglected his summons and fled from their trial, yet seemed ignorant of the cause, and dissembled his displeasure



for the present. Meanwhile he visited *Candida Casa*, to pay his devotions at the shrine of St Ninian. There, after consulting with a few confidential friends, on whose secrecy he could depend, he contrived a plan for bringing the delinquents to judgment. Next year he caused to be proclaimed a convention of the nobles at Scone, as if to deliberate upon the concerns of the state. On the night before their arrival, he concealed in his palace a body of armed soldiers near the audience-hall. The following day, arrayed in his royal robes, he seated himself in the marble chair, and caused the nobles to be ranged by him, according to their rank and seniority. He then began to engage their attention by some preliminary remarks, and instantly, upon the given signal, the soldiers, with their captain, rushed into the assembly and surrounded the nobles, who seemed thunderstruck, and dreaded some impending mischief; but being unarmed and defenceless, a profound silence reigned, which silence Kenneth broke by the following speech:

“ You are doubtless astonished, my lords,  
“ at this unusual form of public delibera-  
“ tion; but, could you read the bottom of  
“ my heart, you should there learn, that no  
“ violence is meant for the Scottish nobility,  
“ too well deserving of me and of the common-  
“ wealth to be exposed to the weapons of an  
“ armed soldiery. These arms, believe me,



A. C. 970.

“ my lords, are intended for your safety, for  
“ mine, and for that of the kingdom at large :  
“ to a set of villains only they are inimical,  
“ and those are they who are combined in  
“ arms to infest the country, by rapacity, plun-  
“ der, rapes, debauchery, burning, and every  
“ crime destructive, dishonourable, and insup-  
“ portable to the populace. You must recol-  
“ lect, my lords, during the late reign, and in  
“ the beginning of mine, with what injustices,  
“ with what vexations, those pestiferous and  
“ profligate banditti harrassed and oppressed  
“ those industrious countrymen, who, poorly  
“ fed and coarsely clothed, by their daily toil  
“ and sweat, gain for us our splendid attire,  
“ our magnificent lodgings and equipage, and  
“ our sumptuous and luxuriant tables ; who  
“ labour more for our support and convenience  
“ than for their own. Those, therefore, who  
“ despoil them despoil us : those who favour  
“ or screen from punishment such predatory  
“ ruffians, conspire against the commonwealth.  
“ Wherefore I deem it absolutely necessary  
“ to rid the nation of this plague, and to free  
“ the innocent people from such daring and  
“ diabolical molestation and violence. The  
“ laws of this country consign them to death,  
“ and my authority can no longer suffer their  
“ vagabond and disorderly life. This ought  
“ to be your care no less than mine, if you va-



“ lue your own safety and that of your spouses,  
“ children, and fortunes. You may remember  
“ what passed last year at Lenrick, and the  
“ contempt with which the laws and my sum-  
“ mons were treated there:—rumours were  
“ not wanting, that some here present were  
“ not free from blame in that business, and the  
“ frequent correspondence kept up with the  
“ guilty, and your apathy, gave some colour  
“ of credit to the surmise. But, my lords, I  
“ have not called you hither as abettors of your  
“ country’s foes, but as protectors of the com-  
“ monwealth; and I now enjoin you to em-  
“ ploy your power and authority to find out  
“ and bring hither the guilty fugitives,—  
“ for, be assured, you shall not escape from the  
“ custody of this guard until they be submit-  
“ ted to their trial by the laws, and the guilty  
“ raised on gibbets, the exaltation they de-  
“ serve.”

A. C. 970.

The nobles, seeing the monarch resolute, were all submission, and, on their bended knees, besought him to lay aside his displeasure, and dismiss every suspicion in regard to their fealty to him or of screening delinquents; that they received and would obey his commands with willing minds, and would remain where he pleased, until, by the assistance of their friends, the culprits were put under his power. They then accompanied him to Perth,



A. C. 970.

where they remained until five hundred, mostly of distinguished birth, were summarily tried, convicted, condemned, and hung on gibbets, on an eminence near the town. Their bodies were suffered to remain in that shocking position for a warning to others.

It is difficult to decide on the proper degree of justice and severity suitable to such atrocities in such a disordered state of the country; but still I cannot help thinking, it would have been more consonant to sound policy, as well as to humanity, to have, by an act of royal clemency, pardoned, at the foot of the gallows, the whole, or at least the greater part of those unfortunate young men. It would have endeared the monarch both to them and to their numerous and powerful friends, and would probably have had a better effect in civilizing the country, (now that they knew both the humour and the power of the prince,) than the rigorous execution and continued shocking spectacle exhibited to the public by their remaining on the gibbets. It is good policy to punish rigorously when the fault can be traced to a few; but seldom or never to extend punishment to a massacre. Those five hundred young gentlemen would have been a powerful support when the Danes, a few years after, invaded Scotland. How bravely would they have opposed that daring and trouble-



some foe. Kenneth perhaps saw it when it was too late.

A. C. 970.

The Danish nation, adventurous and vindictive, remembering, with indignation, the fate their compatriots had met with in Albion, fitted out a fleet, carrying a numerous and powerful army. They first cast anchor at the red promontory near Aberbrothick, where they deliberated whether they should first attack Scotland, a poor country, overgrown with wood, ill cultivated where it was open, and inhabited by a fierce and warlike people. It appeared, therefore, to many, that such a country, gained by much blood and toil, were a dear-bought conquest; whereas, if they landed in Kent, they would find a rich and highly cultivated region, abounding in mines, in well built cities, inhabited by a harmless and unwarlike populace, who, at first sight of the Danes, were accustomed to surrender or fly. It was then surely more advisable to steer their course to a clime, and soil, and prospects more inviting." But their chiefs, who were weary of the sea, observed, that vengeance more than gain was their object; and, besides, if they landed in England, a Scottish army would soon be upon them in the most distant corner of the island, and they should then have both nations to encounter at once. Better then begin by sub-

Battle  
ed over  
the Danes  
chiefly by  
Hay of  
Trot.



A. C. 970.

duing the most warlike, and the rest would be an easy conquest and sure reward.

They then ran their fleet into the mouth of the Esk by Montrose, which town they plundered, massacred the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, burned every public and private building, and levelled the walls with the ground. They continued their cruel devastation through town and country until they came to Perth, which they closely besieged.

The king and a great part of the nobility were at Stirling when the unexpected and unwelcome news reached them. An army was raised with all possible expedition, which encamped, first at the confluence of the Erne with the Tay, thence advanced by night to Lockhart, a village not far from the Tay. The armies soon met, and the Scotch would have been defeated but for the bravery and timely aid of the Herculean Hay, who, together with his two sons, was ploughing in a neighbouring field; and observing both wings of the Scottish army give way, while the king, in the centre, with a part of the nobles, fighting, encouraging, and chiding the retreating, was like to be overpowered, Hay instantly disjoined his yokes from plough and team, and arming therewith himself and sons, took his own stand at the mouth of a narrow pass,

Battle gained over  
the Danes  
chiefly by  
Hay of  
Errol.



(hemmed in by ditches from which peats or turf had been extracted, and through which pass the fugitives were flying and the Danes pursuing,) and drove back, with his yoke, his countrymen to the battle, upbraiding their cowardice, and prostrated the Danes with his manly strokes. Meanwhile the rumour was spread through the armies that fresh troops were coming up to the assistance of Kenneth. A vast number of women and clowns, who were waiting for plunder, vociferated that the pursuing Danes had fallen into an ambush. The fight was renewed with greater vigour than ever; the Danes were broken, fled, and hewed down in vast numbers in their flight. Hay and his sons laid on unmerciful bangs, and contributed greatly to the slaughter, as he himself had been the instrument, in the hand of heaven, of renewing the battle and discomfiting the foe.

The king, with his nobles, marched to Perth, and, bringing out from his wardrobe splendid robes, ordered Hay and his sons (upon whom the pressing multitude gazed with admiration) to be drest in them; but the superior mind of Hay declined such tinselled ornaments, and wiping the sweat from his brow, for he had laboured hard, and bearing on his shoulder the rustic instrument with which he had dealt his hearty blows, professed him-

A. C. 970.





A. C. 970.

self ready to go whithersoever his Majesty called him. He was thus introduced with every accompaniment of state to the royal banquet, and raised to that illustrious rank which his valour and noble spirit had so well deserved, and which his descendants still so justly inherit. Every body knows, that the extent of his domains were determined by the flight of a falcon let loose, and that the measurement was a parallelogram of six miles by four.

Kenneth unhappily tarnished his glorious reign and splendid virtues, by a base and criminal murder. It had been an ancient law and custom, as we have seen, in Scotland, that no person should reign before the age of puberty; therefore, when a king died, if his son was in his non-age, some other person of the royal family, judged by the nobles fit to manage the government, was raised to the throne; and the late king's eldest son, if otherwise qualified, was often his father's second successor. We have seen, also, that it was an article of the treaty between Athelstane, king of England, and Malcolm, king of Scotland, that the heir apparent of the Scottish throne should govern the Scottish possessions in England under the title of prince of Cumberland, and do homage to the English king for those territories.



A. C. 970.  


Malcolm Duff was, at the period we are treating of, prince of Cumberland, and consequently apparent heir to Kenneth; but the latter, from an extravagant fondness for his children, and ambition for the continued grandeur of his family, contrived to have Malcolm Duff taken out of the way by poison. He then, by an overstretch of arbitrary power, got his son Malcolm elected prince of Cumberland, to the prejudice of Constantine, son of Culen, and Grime, grandson of Duff. These two princes, though both aspired to the crown, yet knowing it was useless to refuse what could easily be extorted by force, acknowledged, contrary to their sentiments, that it belonged to the king to name whom he pleased his successor. Ambition is never satisfied, and Kenneth pushed his power a step farther, by getting an act passed, that in future the son or nearest male heir of the king should always succeed to the throne; that in case that son or heir were not of age at the time of the king's demise, a nobleman of eminent wealth and prudence should be chosen regent of the kingdom, until the minor attained his fourteenth year, and then he should assume the reigns of government. The greater number, however, of the nobles held their peace, unwilling to give a declared assent, and knowing it was vain, perhaps dangerous, to give a contrary vote.



A. C. 970.

But a guilty conscience never peaceably enjoys the fruits of its wickedness. Kenneth always feared the disclosure of Malcolm Duff's impoisonment, and was haunted by remorse. At length, in the silence of night, he heard, or thought he heard, this awful reprehension: "Imagine not, Kenneth, that the atrocious murder of Malcom Duff is unknown to the sovereign Deity. Instigated by inordinate covetousness and ambition, thou hast plotted the death of an innocent person, and insidiously dared what thou wouldst justly have punished in the severest manner if committed by the best of thy nobles. The vengeance of the Almighty hangs over thee and thy children, and a disgraceful expiation shall overtake thee and thy family."

Struck with terror, the king spent the remainder of the night in sleepless perplexity and grief. Next morning he sent for Bishop Movean (a prelate whose eminent piety added great weight to his instructions,) and disclosed his guilt with sorrow and tears, begging his direction and the assistance of his ministry in the wretched state of his miserable soul. The Bishop hoping from the candid and sorrowful acknowledgements of his crime, accompanied with the exuberance of his tears, that his contrition was sincere and true, consoled him with the hopes of the divine clemency; ad-



ding that, though the sanctity and justice of the Almighty were justly incensed by enormous guilt, yet his justice, through the merits of a redeemer, yielded to his overflowing mercy upon a sincere penitence and conversion, and enjoined the king, as the prophet Daniel did Nebuchadnezzar, “to redeem his sins with alms, and his iniquities by works of mercy to the poor.” Kenneth readily obeyed his injunctions, and applied himself with great earnestness to the exercises of prayer, penance, and mercy: he fed the hungry, clothed the naked, promoted the decency, glory, and decorum of the divine worship, and omitted nothing worthy of a pious and Christian monarch.

A. C. 994.

Amongst his other penitential exercises, he visited the shrine of St Palladius at Fordun; and it was in returning thence that he fell into the snare long laid to take away his life. Adjoining to the castle of Fettercairn, there was a park abounding with every kind of beasts of chace which Albion afforded. Here the king, it would seem, intended to relax his mind by the innocent and manly exercise of hunting. The proprietor of that place was a lady called Fenella, a near relation of Constantine and of Grime, who, by the late acts of the king, had been justled from their hopes of the crown,—and, moreover, Kenneth



A. C. 994.



had sentenced to an ignominious death Crathlint the son of Fenella, for crimes which justly deserved it, to the greatest of which, viz. the murder of Cruthneth, her own father, Fenella herself had instigated her son. The king, in an unlucky hour, accepted the proffered hospitality of this lady, who was naturally of a violent and vindictive temper, and, for all these real or pretended wrongs, *æternum servans sub pectore vulnus*, had long cherished in her breast a rooted hatred against Kenneth, and had contrived a revenge so artful that it savours of romance. This subtle woman well knew Kenneth's taste for magnificence, and, in order to circumvent him, had built within her castle a grand tower adjoining to her dining room, which tower she overlaid with copper, ornamented with elegant and various figures and flowers. The interior finishing was exquisite, and the furniture, beyond what Albion could produce, was imported from foreign countries at a vast expense. The apartment was hung with rich tapestry, interwoven with gold and choicest texture, behind which were concealed warlike machines for throwing javelins or sharp-pointed lances. In the middle of the room stood a bronze statue of Kenneth holding in its hand a golden apple set with exquisite pearls: between this apple and those warlike weapons there was a secret



communication by certain cords or wires, so artfully and so subtilely contrived, that, who-soever touched the apple, or moved it from its place, instantly, as by talismanic operation, the springs were set in play, and discharged the sharp-pointed lances with great force and vehemence against the handler of the apple.

A. C. 994.



Having thus laid her hellish stratagem, the perfidious Fenella, after dinner, with blandishing address, beckoned the monarch to step aside with her into the tower, as if she had something particular to say to him. The unfortunate Kenneth, little dreaming of the fraud, followed the deceitful fiend, and, the door being shut, began to look around him and admire the fascinating grandeur of the hall, but fixing his particular attention on the statue, courteously enquired whom it represented? The statue, sire, replied she, with all the counterfeit grace of profound respect, the statue, sire, is your own: I have given it the most adorned place in my castle, that all may perceive in what veneration I hold you, and in which you ought to be held by every one. The apple you behold so elegantly adorned, is meant as a present to you, beloved monarch, unworthy indeed of your acceptance, yet an expression of the mind of the donor. The inserted gems are, an emerald, a hyacinth, a sapphire, a topaz, a ruby, an azure, emitting

Stratagem  
of Fenella.



A. C. 994.

an antidote against pestiferous and deadly poisons.

Having thus excited the king's wonder and curiosity, she deemed her plot wrought up to its explosion, and began to provide for her own safety. She hastily retired to a corner, as if to bring out some new wonder from her repositories. Meanwhile, Kenneth charmed with the brilliance and dazzling gems, unwarily put his hand to the fatal apple, and moved it a little from its place, when, behold, in the twinkling of an eye, the magic machinery discharged a hail of deadly darts against the unsuspecting monarch, who fell transpierced and lifeless on the floor.

The unrelenting female saw him fall, and felt her vengeance glutted. She darted swift as a shooting star through a postern door into a neighbouring grove, where swift steeds were ready prepared for her flight. The fields, the forests, the rivers, and the hills, flew behind her with the rapidity of an eagle, and, ere the king's death was known, she was beyond the reach of her pursuers. It was generally supposed she fled to Constantine, whom she well knew to have no good will to Kenneth, and who, it was believed, smuggled her over to Ireland. Thus, by the infernal contrivance of a wily and vindictive woman, Scotland lost a king well fitted to sway the sceptre in the



then rude state of the nation. Kenneth reigned twenty-four years.

A. C. 994.

CONSTANTINE IV. instantly went round among his friends canvassing their suffrages for the crown, alleging the late acts of Kenneth were arbitrary impositions, carried without the free consent of the nobles, and contrary to the ancient statutes and customs of the realm. He obtained the consent of a powerful party, with whom he proceeded to Scone, and, being seated on the marble chair, received the regalia, with great acclamation, on the twelfth day after Kenneth's death.

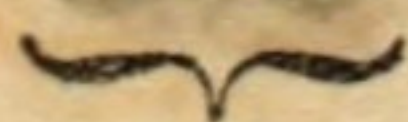
The following year, by the inclemency of the seasons, and especially the summer drought, vast numbers of the cattle died, and the crops were so deficient as to occasion a famine; and had it not been that fish were unusually abundant, an immense number of the people must have died of hunger.

Famine and  
faction.

At that time flourished in Scotland, Movean, Medan, Blaan, Englat, and Colmock, most exemplary bishops: Onan, deacon or dean; Congan, abbot; and Vigian, a monk, and very eloquent Christian preacher. These, and many others, men of eminent piety and learning, endeavoured to profit of the sufferings of the country to reform the morals of the people, and exhorted them, in the strongest and most affecting manner, to turn to Almighty God by



A. C. 995.



a sincere conversion and amendment, that they might thereby avert the temporal evils by which they were then afflicted, and the danger of miseries more grievous and lasting in the world to come; but, unhappily, their zeal had but little success, and the obstinacy of the nation in disorder, probably drew upon them the scourge of civil war, with all its dire concomitancies.

Malcolm, son of the late Kenneth, and prince of Cumberland, holding Constantine as an usurper, after his father's funeral convened his friends, to consult with them how the intruder might be dethroned, and the sedition (as he deemed it) repressed. Some advised to take time and sound the dispositions how they were affected towards Constantine, lest Malcolm and his adherents might rashly embark in an affair from which they should not be able to re-sile without dishonour, or continue without danger to themselves and immense loss to the nation. Others were of opinion that, without loss of time, the usurper ought to be attacked with all possible force, before he was firmly settled on the throne. Many, they said, had joined him through fear, and would come over to Malcolm as soon as they could with safety. This counsel Malcolm adopted, as being most conformable to his impetuous temper, and the ardour of his youth. He therefore mustered up



A. C. 995.  


an army of 10,000 men, and marched against his rival: but understanding that the adverse army was far more powerful, he disbanded his soldiers, and retired to Cumberland, and would thus have exposed himself to ridicule, and his friends to danger, had not Kenneth, his illegitimate brother, instantly raised a powerful force, and bravely withstood Constantine, and hindered him from passing the Forth. A great scarcity of provisions prevailed throughout the country, and was most grievously felt in both camps; wherefore Constantine, unable to pursue his plan, was reluctantly obliged to dismiss his troops.

Meanwhile, the greatest misery prevailed throughout the whole kingdom, and mutual inroads, depredations, rage, quarrels, and slaughter. The labourers could not cultivate the ground in such tumult, and for want of cattle and want of seed. The evils still increased: faction and hatred became more and more cruel and inveterate. Virgins were deflowered, matrons dishonoured, public and private buildings were burnt, the churches sacrilegiously violated, and every crime that could irritate God and disgrace men was perpetrated, nor was any one found to stem the tide of disorder or punish guilt. The clergy, secular and regular, with all good men, mourned over the melancholy and hopeless state of their country.



A. C. 996.

Constantine  
slain.

Whilst Malcolm was assisting the English monarch against the Danes, Constantine thought that was his time to reduce under his obedience the districts that had adhered still to Malcolm, and hastened into Lothian with an army; but Kenneth, Malcolm's natural brother, met Constantine with a considerable force about three miles from Edinburgh. The combat was fierce and bloody; but a vehement south wind arising, drove the dust with great violence on the faces of Constantine's army, and the opposite sun darting his rays from the same point of the compass, while Kenneth's troops, having both on their backs, were not incommoded by either, and therefore victory declared for them: but it was a dear-bought victory. The two generals, after various fortune of the day, met in single combat, and fell by mutual wounds. Thus ended Constantine's short reign of two years.

GRIME was now the chief of Constantine's faction, and himself a pretender to the crown. Perceiving that the most of the nobility of the other faction had fallen in the late battle, and therefore the victors had sustained the greater loss, he collected his friends, and the remains of Constantine's army, and hastened with them to Scone, where he was declared king by the multitude.

Grime was well adapted to secure his friends,



and to conciliate his enemies. He was open, frank, liberal, and benignant; bountiful to his adherents, and profuse to his enemies who could be gained by largesses. His person, too, was of faultless form, his countenance comely and attractive, as his address was insinuating and engaging; insomuch that it was a common saying that, by the qualities of his mind, and the graces of his person, he seemed formed to reign, and would doubtless bring back the happy and innocent reign of his grandsire Duff.

Malcolm, upon hearing the news, dissembled his sorrow, and quietly consulted with his friends, the wisest of whom advised him to proceed with prudence rather than force,—to endeavour to detach the most powerful and prudent from Grime, and afterwards to direct his operations as wisdom and circumstances should dictate. Malcolm agreed to this counsel, and sent private messengers through the different provinces to expostulate with the powerful nobles, and solicit that they would not allow the laws made by the general suffrage to be violated by an usurper. A few of the nobles received the messengers with honour, receded from Grime, and advised their neighbours to do the same: but the far greater number seized the envoys, and binding their hands behind their backs sent them to Grime, who threw them into prison. Malcolm, enraged at

A. C. 996.  




A. C. 996.



such treatment, resolved to attack Grime by force. Grime also proceeded slowly, in order to draw Malcolm's army as far as possible from their homes. He had by far the finest army, being composed of the flower of the Hebrides, and of all Scotland beyond the Forth and Clyde. Great terror existed in Malcolm's camp; but, whilst the two armies were yet at distance from each other, Fothad the principal bishop of Scotland, (for the terms archbishop or metropolitan were not yet used here,) a prelate of eminent virtue and meekness, grieving to see the realm torn asunder by a civil war, with all its dreadful accompaniments, went forth to Grime, arrayed in his pontificals, and attended by several priests. Grime received him with great respect, and asked why he had come in the vestments which were usually worn only during his sacred functions? "I come," replied the bishop, "as the minister of Christ  
" the Prince of Peace, in the habit that an-  
" nounces peace. I come humbly supplicating  
" thy pity and thy aid for this afflicted king-  
" dom, over which the Almighty hath given  
" thee rule. The torch of civil discord is  
" lighted up, and flames through town and  
" country: the conflagration involves the  
" whole nation, and Scotland totters to its fall.  
" It is thou, and thou alone, who canst extin-  
" guish the combustion, and save this realm



“ from ruin. While this tumult rages, public  
 “ and private rapine, murders, and slaughter  
 “ of the defenceless, with crimes that I shud-  
 “ der to name, not only escape with impunity  
 “ but are praised and extolled. Scotland  
 “ groans under calamities which her most ex-  
 “ asperated enemy would commiserate. It is  
 “ thine, sire, to remedy the evils of thy country  
 “ (with which thou thyself must stand or fall,)  
 “ by coming to an agreement with Malcolm  
 “ thy rival; and if thou wilt listen to reason-  
 “ able terms, I take upon myself, with the  
 “ help of heaven, to bring matters to a happy  
 “ issue, without infringement of thy honour.”

A. C. 996.

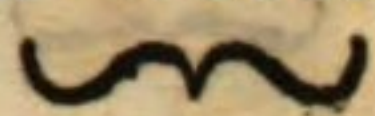
The king replied, that he was not averse to  
 peace on terms consistent with his honour:  
 that if Malcolm chose to content himself  
 with Cumberland, and to dismiss his army, he  
 would also desist from war; but as he had re-  
 ceived the crown by legal suffrage, he would  
 part with it and life together.

Fothad begged him to advance no farther  
 until he should sound Malcolm's dispositions.  
 He then proceeded to Stirling, and, still at-  
 tired in his pontificals, addressed Malcolm, ur-  
 ging motives and arguments similar to those  
 which he had laid before Grime. The result  
 was, first an armistice of three months, during  
 which a treaty was concluded that Grime  
 should wear the Scottish crown during his

Agreement  
 between  
 Malcom  
 and Grime.



A. C. 1004.



life ; that Malcolm and his heirs should succeed in future, according to the laws enacted by Kenneth ; that meantime he should possess the lands between Lothian and Northumberland, and between the Clyde and Cumberland. But Grime during peace became a dissipated, covetous, and tyrannical king, by which means he excited a rebellion, and a desertion of the nobles to Malcolm : a battle ensued at Achribarton, on Ascension day, 1004, in which Grime was wounded, lost his eye-sight, and soon died of grief and vexation, after a reign of eight years.

MALCOLM then obtained the whole kingdom, and was long worthy of it. Conciliating all parties, he established in every district wise and well-informed magistrates, and committed the care of his army to experienced officers.

The Danes having long harrassed England, at length obtained the complete mastery thereof, after the Saxons had held England upwards of five hundred years. As the Scottish troops had frequently assisted the English, the Danes had considered the former as their most formidable opponents, and had therefore conceived a rooted antipathy against them. Sweyn now commanded Olaus, his viceroy in Norway, and Enet, who presided in Denmark, to raise a powerful army, and invade Scotland, that

Agreement  
between  
Malcolm  
and Grime.



hated nation. These, accordingly, in a short time after, with an immense fleet of transports, anchored at Speymouth, where, landing their forces, they carried fire and sword through Moray. In that district there were three strong forts, Elgin, Forres, and Nairn. In these strong-holds, all the inhabitants who could reach them took shelter. The Danes laid siege to Nairn, as being the strongest. Malcolm soon followed thither with an army, and encamped in a pleasant plain, near Kilflos or Kinloss. The armies soon met, and the conflict was bloody; but unfortunately victory declared for the invaders, and Malcolm, severely wounded, was obliged to retreat with what troops remained. The Danes thought it unsafe to pursue him in an unknown country, and returned with all their might to the siege of Nairn. That garrison capitulated, on condition that, surrendering their arms, they should march away with their lives and properties unmolested; but the perfidious Danes broke faith, and hanged the whole garrison. Those who were in the other two forts, learning thence what they had to expect, left these places, and all Moray, to the Danes, and hastened to join Malcolm.

Next spring, that the Danes might not acquire an accession of strength in Moray, Malcolm, with all the force he could muster,

A. C. 1004.

Danish  
invasion.Battle of  
Kilfloss.



A. C. 1004.

Battle of  
Mortlach.

marched and encamped at Mortlach, whither the Danes hastened to meet him. The onset was furious on both sides, and maintained with great obstinacy and slaughter. Kenneth, from the isle of Isla, Grime, from Strathern, and Patrick Dunbar—these brave young chiefs fell in the front ; the Scottish lines were broken, and vast carnage ensued. The place whither the Scottish army were retreating resembled the place where the gallant Hay had formerly turned the tide of battle at Lockhart ; and Malcolm, like that hero, held the pass, and was still endeavouring to rally his men, but was born backwards by the pressing multitude. Perceiving, meanwhile, a chapel dedicated to St Moloc, he raised his hands to heaven : “ O  
“ Sovereign Lord of Hosts, (he exclaimed,) the  
“ rewarder of virtue, and the avenger of crimes,  
“ we, the professors of thy true religion, and  
“ the defenders of the country which thy pro-  
“ vidence hath assigned us, assailed by ruinous  
“ war from an invading and perfidious enemy,  
“ destitute of human assistance, we fly to  
“ thee, and implore thy wonted clemency and  
“ aid in our forlorn condition. O restrain the  
“ raging fury of the enemy of thy holy name ;  
“ take away this panic from my troops, and  
“ stop this ignoble flight ! And thou, blessed  
“ Lady, mother of the Saviour, thou refuge  
“ and succour of the distressed,—and thou St



“ Moloc, to whom this field and chapel is sa-  
“ cred, O both assist us by your intercession. I  
“ vow, if victorious, here to build a church in  
“ your honour, and raise it to the dignity of an  
“ Episcopal see, as a monument to future ages  
“ of the Scottish kingdom preserved by your  
“ aid.” He said,—and some of the nobles, soon  
as they heard this fervent prayer, cried aloud,  
“ Fellow soldiers! the God of heaven com-  
“ mands us to turn and renew the fight.” A  
shout of the bravest soldiers resounded, “ Let  
“ us face the impious foe, and shield our pre-  
“ cious lives and dearer country.” They then  
rushed upon their foes, as animated by a hea-  
venly mandate, and hewed them down with  
immense slaughter. Enet, the Danish chief,  
rode with his head uncovered, as if the field  
had been won, vainly boasting, and throwing  
out his gibes against the Scotch. Malcolm,  
attended by a band of brave youths, drove  
through Enet’s guards, unhorsed and killed  
him on the spot. The Danes mourned their  
lost general, and Olaus, with the wreck, re-  
treated to Moray. Malcolm found his army  
unable to pursue them: he spent the remain-  
der of that year in Angus, consulting with his  
nobles how he might protect the kingdom,  
and, if possible, recover Moray.

Sweyn, raging with fury for the discomfi-  
ture of his Danes at Mortlach, ordered two

A. C. 1004.

Another  
to him  
noisyBattle on  
the river  
Toll.



A. C. 1004.

Another  
Danish in-  
vasion.

fleets to make a new invasion upon Scotland. One was to sail from the Thames, the other from Denmark, and the army carried by both was to be commanded by Camus, an expert general. They accordingly met at St Abbe's head; but being hindered to land there by the inhabitants of the country, they sailed to Inchkeith; from which islet, after a month's stay, they weighed anchor at early dawn, and landed at the red promontory ere the neighbourhood were aware. Camus with his army ascended a rising ground, from which he saw the ruins of Montrose, and held its ashes as a good omen of success. He directed his march to Brechin, plundered and destroyed the town and the church of the Holy Trinity, of which only a tower of artful Pictish architecture remains. Hearing that Malcolm with his army was coming up, he marched to the sea-coast to a village called Balbryde. Malcolm halted at Barre, about two miles distant from the enemy. His army, after taking a short repose in the evening, spent the remainder of the night at the knees of their confessors, and in exercises of piety. The battle next day was dreadful: The rivulet Loth was so swelled with blood as to seem to waft more human gore than of its own waters to the sea. The field, though of a sandy soil, swam with the purple tide. After a long and severe fight Malcolm was emi-

Battle on  
the rivulet  
Loth.



nently victorious. Camus fleeing to Moray, was overtaken two miles from the field of battle, and killed. A stone or obelisk was erected there, and the place still retains the name of *Camistone*. A young man of the name of Keith was particularly serviceable in the battle, and the chief pursuer and smiter of Camus, and the first of the noble family of that name, borne since by the Earl of Marischal, Earl of Kintore, &c. Another party of the fugitives were cut in pieces at Aberlemnon.—A considerable number who had got to their ships were detained on the Buchan shore, and, being obliged to land in order to procure provisions, were attacked by the populace, and, after an obstinate resistance, were utterly destroyed at Gemmeric. The Danes who were killed at Barre were buried where they fell,—the fallen Scottish troops obtained Christian burial.

Sweyn, nowise deterred, but rather exasperated by these disasters of his subjects, caused his brother Knute, or Canute, to fit out yet another fleet and army, which landed on the Buchan shore, and carried destruction and death through that district.

Malcolm, therefore, though his forces were greatly broken by the foregoing battles, was obliged to hasten to the combat anew with what troops he could raise ; and the inimical

A. C. 1004.

Battle of  
Crudden.Prepared for  
the press.Printed  
at the  
press.



A. C. 1004.

—  
Battle of  
Cruden.

Prayers for  
the dead.

armies again engaged with whetted arms and doubly incensed minds. The carnage was beyond description; almost all the nobility fell, and the name only of a victory remained with the Scotch. Weary of fighting on both sides, a peace was concluded on these conditions, viz. That the Danes, leaving Buchan and Moray, with all its strongholds, should sail from the Scottish shores, no more to return as enemies, but that the Scotch and Danes should henceforth be friends; that the field of battle should be consecrated by a bishop as a burying-place for the Danes, who had lately become Christians; that a church should be built there, and priests appointed in all time coming to say masses for the souls of the slain. The place is still called Cruden, i. e. *Cruor Danum*, The blood of the Danes. That church was afterwards buried or destroyed by the hurricanes and driven sands, and again rebuilt in a more commodious place. Boethius says he himself saw and handled many of the skulls, teeth, and jaw-bones, and other *ossa* of those bodies in the year 1519, and that they were of a gigantic size, far surpassing those of the age he lived in: “Grandiaque effosis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.”—*Virg. i. Georg.*

Malcolm, now delivered from the calamities of war, turned his mind to the improvement, peace, and good order of his kingdom. He



gave orders, in the first place, that the service of Almighty God, and the duties of religion, should be strictly observed throughout the whole realm, according to the mandates of the bishops; and that all ranks and degrees should testify their gratitude for blessings received, and dispose themselves, by their pious conduct, for the continuance of the divine protection.

A. C. 1005.

The better to promote the observance of sacred ordinances, which had been too much neglected during the tumult of war, he caused a national synod of the clergy to be held at Perth, where all ecclesiastical affairs might be regulated,—that all scandals might be removed,—and all clergy and laity might return to the purity, decency, and fervour of ancient days.

Malcolm also ordered the churches to be rebuilt, or properly refitted, which had been pillaged and destroyed by the barbarity and sacrilegious rapine of the Danes. Nor was he unmindful of his vow at Mortlach, but built, as he had promised, a fine church dedicated to God, in honour of St Moloc, which he raised to the dignity of an Episcopal see, and assigned it suitable temporalities. St Beanus, a prelate of singular piety and erudition, was its first bishop.

Episcopal  
see of Mort-  
lach.



A. C. 1034.  


The king rendered many essential services to the civil and political state of the country. He took due care of those who had served in his army, and of the children and relatives of those who had lost their lives in the service of their country. He divided the kingdom into baronies, and bestowed these according to merit or legal claim. He enacted a clear code of municipal laws, wherein, amongst other regulations, the fees for privileges, charters, deeds, and all diplomatical and other writs, were clearly specified.

He was long the bulwark of his people in war, and their father in peace. Unhappily he tarnished the eminent glory of his reign by the sordid passion of avarice, which crept upon him, and grew with his growing age; inso-much that he repented of his former liberality, and, in order to recover inheritances, money, or lands given away, he, upon false and fictitious pretences, put the possessors to death, though men of dignity and honour, whose noble relations, incensed by such arbitrary and unjust proceedings, were ready to rebel. At length, while Malcolm was at Glammis, some of the malecontents having bribed his attendants, during the silence of night, assassinated the unsuspecting old monarch, after a reign of thirty years. The assassins, with the courtiers who were in the plot, fled instantly upon swift

Malcolm  
assassinat-  
ed.



A. C. 1034.  


horses; but as the ground was covered with snow, they mistook their way, and rode into the loch of Forfar, where they finished their career. Their bodies, after the thaw, were dragged out,—and being carved by the hangman, were distributed through the kingdom, and hung on gibbets on the cross roads. The body of the king was, with due solemnity, buried in Hyona.

Malcolm had two daughters, Beatrix and Doda, the eldest of whom had been married to Crinen, a powerful chieftain of the isles and west of Scotland. DUNCAN, the fruit of that marriage, was raised to the throne. He was naturally of a mild and pacific temper, perhaps too much so for the manners and habits of the nation he had to rule.

Malcolm's second daughter, Doda, had been married to Synel, thane of Glammis, who by her had a son called Macbeth, brave and enterprising, but too propense to cruelty; insomuch that it was commonly said, that if the redundancy of opposite qualities in these two young princes (Duncan and Macbeth) had been blended in each other, the mixture would have produced a happy temperament in both.

Matters went on tolerably well in the beginning of Duncan's reign, by means of the excellent judges which had been appointed by



A. C. 1034.

his grandfather ; but when it began to be perceived that the king was indolent and slow in punishing flagitious deeds, great evils ensued. Banquho, (the ancestor of the Stewart royal family,) was then Thane of Lochaber, and collector of the taxes, who having severely reprimanded and even punished the contrivers of some malversations, drew upon himself a mob of factious and greedy ruffians who robbed him of the public money, and wounded him so severely, that he with difficulty escaped with life. As soon as he was able, he went and complained to the king, who immediately dispatched a messenger to summons the authors of the daring offence to stand their trial ; but they, to heighten their guilt, laid hold of the messenger, and after treating him with great ignominy put him to death ; and now, when they expected an armed party to punish their treasonable temerity, Macdowall started for their champion, and having collected a powerful party, began to vent the most indecorous and abusive reproaches against the king, as a mean soft simpleton, fitter to rule a parcel of monks than Scottish heroes, the bravest of all nations. This bold rebel, by his bravadoes and promises, formed a numerous band of Hebridian and Irish adventurers. Macbeth, blaming the indolence of the king for not checking the sedition at its first appearance,



yet undertook, with the assistance of Banquo, not to leave a vestige of Macdowall and his adherents: which promise he soon fulfilled. Macdowall being totally routed, fled to his castle and begged his life; but that being denied, he desperately killed his own wife and children, that they might not fall into his enemy's hands, and then put an end to his own life. Macbeth fixed his head on a pole, and ordered it to be carried to the king at Perth: the trunk he hung on a gibbet. By this resolute measure, Macbeth restored order to the country.

Meanwhile Sweyn\*, king of Norway, seeing that his brother Canute had added England to his Danish dominions, that he might not be inferior to him in glory and empire, determined to conquer Scotland; and accordingly landed a considerable force in Fife, and began by plundering the country, and cruelly butchering innocent boys, women, and children, alleging that he ought thus to avenge the death of his countrymen Camus and his army at Barre, Gemmerie, and Cruden.

Necessity now made Duncan bestir himself. He in great haste collected an army, which he

A. C. 1034.

Macdow-  
all's end.Norwegian  
invasion.

\* This Sweyn was the son of the late Sweyn who had so plagued Scotland during Malcolm's reign. The elder Sweyn was king of Denmark and Norway, and had also conquered England. He had three sons, Harold, Sweyn, and Knute, or Canute. To the first he left England, to the second Norway, and to the third Denmark. Harold, three years after his father's decease, was slain by Ethelred, but Canute, Harold's youngest brother, landed a mighty host in England, and recovered its dominion to the Danes. Sweyn was not so fortunate in his attempt upon Scotland.



A. C. 1034.

Battle of  
Culross.Norwegian  
invasion.Norwegians  
defeated by  
a strata-  
gem.

divided into three battalions. The first was commanded by the warlike Macbeth: Banquho headed the second, and the third was led by the king himself. They met the Norwegian army at Culross, (near the spot where the princely abbey of the Cistercian order was afterwards built.) The battle raged, and great slaughter was made on both sides; but at length the Scotch were obliged to give way. The slaughter ceased when the flight began, for the victors were unable to follow. Duncan retreated to Perth, while the indefatigable Macbeth hastened to the north to collect fresh troops.

The Norwegians remained during the night on the field of battle, doubtful whether their victory were real. At dawn, when they perceived the Scottish troops were gone, they began to gather the spoils; and Sweyn, as if he had already conquered Scotland, gave orders to hurt no person unarmed. He then followed whither he learnt Duncan had gone, and laid close siege to Perth. Duncan, by the advice of Banquho, (a person of shrewd intellect and fruitful in wiles) sent private notice to Macbeth, who was coming with a fresh army, to stop at Tulina, until he should hear farther from him. Meantime he sent a messenger to the Norwegian, making proposals by degrees for surrendering the town, and abating his



A. C. 1034.

terms slowly, desired Sweyn to send a plenipotentiary to treat upon the conditions. "But as the Norwegians, (he caused the envoy to say) might be scarce of beverage and flour, he could spare them plenty of wine and beer, as likewise of flour: as to flesh meats, he supposed they were well provided from their booty, but in case they wanted they might have a supply." The offer was willingly accepted, and the Scotch having impregnated the wine and beer with the juice of a soporiferous and stupifying berry, (probably the *dogberry*) sent it to the enemy's camp in great abundance: and to encourage the quaffing of the noxious liquor, plenty of fine new loaves were sent to excite thirst. The Norwegians having filled their paunches, drank to excess, and swallowed the bait with the hook.

Macbeth, timeously warned, advanced with his new army, and crossing the Tay by a wooden bridge, came into Perth. The whole Scottish army now sallied out upon the Norwegians, who, drowned in sleep, and stupified with the poisonous drug, fell an easy prey to their assailants,—"*Virtus an dolus quis in hoste requirat.*" A few, who had been cautious from suspicion, ran to the tent of their king, called him, shook him, but all to no purpose. They then, favoured by the darkness of the night, seizing the lulled monarch by head and



A. C. 1034.

feet, hauled him to a fishing-boat which they found, and rowed him down to the mouth of the Tay, where the transports lay; but even the seamen who had been left with the vessels, hearing the fame of the inviting nectar, had hastened to the camp, and, indulging in the delicious draughts, had shared its fatal effects. With difficulty as many sailors were found as sufficed to waft back the king to his hereditary territories; the rest all perished. The transports, dashed against each other by a strong easterly wind, were shattered and sunk in the sands, to the great annoyance of the navigation. At high water they were covered with the surge, but at low tide a part was long visible, and was called the sunk-hills, *Dromlou*.

Danes defeated.

Soon after, a Danish fleet, sent by Canute to the aid of his brother, landed at Kinghorn, and were laying waste the neighbouring country. But Macbeth and Banquo, with a select party of youth, in the highest spirits, assailed the depredators, killed a good number of their nobility and bravest soldiers, and drove the others to their ships. Those who had escaped obtained from Macbeth, for a considerable sum of money, that their noble and brave companions who had fallen should be buried in *Æmona*,\* in holy ground. Monuments were there erected, insculped with their arms. The Danes,

\* Inch-Colme.—*Boece*.



moreover, bound themselves by oath never again to enter Scotland in a hostile manner. A. C. 1034.

Thus, the seven first years of Duncan's reign went on tolerably well; but now an incident is said to have taken place, which is difficult to account for, either in a philosophical or theological point of view.

The king was at Forres, and Macbeth and Banquo were on their journey to join him. Happening to take a little ramble through the fields and woods for their amusement, they fell in with three grisly hags, somewhat of female form, their dress uncouth, and their mien haggard and wild. While the travellers eyed them with curiosity and astonishment, the first saluted Macbeth with "Hail Macbeth, Thane of Glamis!" That magistracy he inherited by his father's death. The second accosted him with, "Hail, Thane of Calder!" The third added, "Hail, *future King of Scotland*."\*

Weird sisters.

Banquo, nowise dismayed, thus addressed these mysterious disposers of offices and kingdoms: "Whatsoever you are, you seem highly partial to my companion, in bestowing upon him such accumulated and lucrative dignities, while you give nothing to me." "Yea, (replied the first,) we announce to thee

\* This relation of Boethius, Buchanan turns to a dream of Macbeth. Fordun takes no notice of it. It, however, afforded a good subject for the tragic muse of Shakespeare.



A. C. 1034.



“ far greater things than to him. A king, in-  
“ deed, he shall be, but his reign shall have a  
“ disastrous termination, nor shall any of his  
“ race succeed him ; but from thee shall spring  
“ a long descending line of Scottish kings.”  
They said, and instantly disappeared. The he-  
roes considered the predictions as the empty  
fictions of a fortune-teller, and diverted them-  
selves with their titles ; Banquho calling Mac-  
beth king, and he retorting the raillery by call-  
ing Banquho father of kings.

But a short time after, at Forres, the then  
Thane of Calder was tried, condemned, and be-  
headed for high treason, and his lands, ho-  
nours, and office, by the king's benevolence,  
were conferred upon Macbeth. At supper,  
when in merry mood, Banquho began to joke  
Macbeth, saying, that he had already realized  
the predictions of the two first weird-sisters, he  
had now only to look after the promise of the  
third. Macbeth, when alone, began seriously  
to revolve the matter in his mind, and actually  
to aspire to the throne ; but resolved to watch  
the time and opportunity, which, he doubted  
not, the fates would point out : nor was a han-  
dle long awanting.

Duncan created his eldest son, Malcolm,  
(whom he had by a daughter of Sivard Earl of  
Northumberland,) prince of Cumbria, as being  
naturally to succeed himself on the Scottish



throne. Macbeth took this amiss, as tending to obstruct his fate, and seemed contrary to the ancient custom of the kingdom until Kenneth had arbitrarily altered it. He therefore presumed he had a fair pretext for invading the throne. He was moreover instigated to this enterprise by his wife, who was still more ambitious of royal dignity than himself. Having communicated his daring design to his nearest relations and friends, and especially to Banquo, he nefariously assassinated Duncan at Inverness ; and strengthening his party by bribery, he proceeded to Scone, and was proclaimed king. The body of Duncan was brought to Elgin, and thence conveyed to Hyona, in the seventh year of his reign.

A. C. 1040.

Duncan assassinated.

Malcom Ceanmore and Donald Bane, the sons of the late king, fled precipitately to Cumberland, where they remained until Edward the Confessor obtained the English crown, to whom Malcolm betook himself, and was honourably received and entertained by him. Donald Bane returned to the Hebrides, and afterwards went to Ireland.

Macbeth, to secure himself in his usurped royalty, bestowed freely the riches he had unjustly acquired. Hordes of robbers and plunderers had assumed boldness from the too great lenity and remissness of the late king. Macbeth fearing that, if he attempted openly to

Macbeth usurper.



A. C. 1040.

destroy them, they might form among themselves a powerful party, and, putting themselves under the command of some bold chief inimical to his reign, excite a formidable insurrection against him, craftily contrived a stratagem to rid the kingdom of them. He instructed persons whom he could trust to go amongst those free-booters, and challenge them to single combat in one public market-place, and all on the same day. The scheme succeeded; the combatants assembled, and Macbeth had his troops ready. The offenders were seized, and hung without farther ceremony. This expedient gave both joy and security to the country.

Macbeth continued to reign well for the first ten years; but hitherto he had only acted a fictitious character, the better to establish his power. He then resumed his own personage, put on the old man, and became a merciless tyrant.

The witches who had foretold his reign, (to continue the wonderful story,) had also promised the kingdom to Banquo's posterity. To avert that destiny, he invited Banquo and his son Fleanchus to supper, having hired assassins to murder them in their return home. Banquo fell a victim in the snare; but his son Fleanchus, favoured by the darkness of the night, escaped, and fled to

Banquo  
assassi-  
nated.



Wales, where he had a natural son by the daughter of the king or ruler of that principality. That son, Walter, returned to Scotland, and for some acts of bravery, against free-booters, was made seneschal or steward of the treasury. From Walter came Allan, who, with the duke of Lorraine, distinguished himself in the Crusades 1099 : from Allan descended Alexander Stewart who built the abbey of Paisley 1164, (some call him Walter.) The next in succession was Walter of Dundonald, who, together with his son Alexander, fought with Alexander III. of Scotland at the famous battle of Larg : John, the son of Alexander, married the heiress of Buittle, and had by her Walter, who succeeded to Stewart-town and other estates, and who married Marjory Bruce, daughter of Robert Bruce, by whom he had Robert Stewart king of Scotland, the first king of that illustrious name.

A. C. 1040.

From the murder of Banquo, the prosperous villany of Macbeth began to ebb. The nobles, fearing a similar fate, seldom resorted to his court ; and the tyrant, conceiving an universal hatred against them, under false pretences put them to death, and confiscated their property. They were also harrassed by a mad project of building a strong citadel upon the top of Dunsinnan, a hill about ten miles from Perth. The nobles were obliged,

Macbeth  
becomes a  
tyrant.



A. C. 1040.

at their own expence, by turns, to carry materials, build, and superintend personally their vassals at the work. Macduff thane of Fife, though he furnished his quota of artificers, and other necessities, and enjoined his men to be diligent and attentive to the work, yet, because he did not himself attend, he fell under the tyrant's mortal displeasure; the rather that Macbeth's fortune-tellers, in whom he placed implicit confidence, had warned him to beware of Macduff. He would, indeed, ere that time, have dispatched Macduff, had he not been retarded by a Pythoness, who amused him with obscure predictions. She assured him he should never fall into the enemy's hands, until the forest of Birnam, which was at a considerable distance, should be transferred to Dunsinnan, and that he could never be killed by the hand of any man born of a woman.

Meanwhile, to shun the tyrant's cruelty, Macduff betook himself to England, wishing, if possible, to recal Malcolm Ceanmore. Macbeth perceived his plan (for kings are said to have lynxes eyes and Midas' ears,) and instantly raised forces, marched into Fife, and laid siege to Macduff's castle, which soon surrendered: but the tyrant barbarously murdered Macduff's lady and children, together with every person in the castle—put all Macduff's



property to the hammer, and, throughout all Scotland, declared him an enemy to the commonwealth. A. C. 1040.

Macduff represented to Malcolm, in the strongest language, and in the most affecting manner, the detestable cruelty of Macbeth, not only to himself and family which he had so brutally butchered, but also to the whole nobility, whose lives and properties were continually sacrificed to the slightest suspicion of an ignominious usurper, who extended his unrelenting vengeance to their wives and innocent babes. “How long,” continued he, “wilt thou abandon thy friends and subjects to such ignominious tyranny and indiscriminate slaughter? How long wilt thou be unmoved by the sufferings of thy country?” Malcolm, who had often been insidiously tampered with by deceitful messengers sent by Macbeth to ensnare him, resolved to put Macduff’s sincerity to the severest test. He pretended that he was subject to many grievous and even shameful vices, that rendered him totally unfit for ruling over others. He put Macduff in mind of the fable of the fox covered over with flies that sucked up his blood, and being asked by a passenger whether he would wish them driven away, replied, he had rather not; for these flies being now satiated, were become sluggish and inactive, but, if these were chased away, others,



A. C. 1040.

Malcolm  
called  
home.

hungry and virulent, would succeed them, and drain the last drop. Better, therefore, said he, leave me as I am, lest whom you now eagerly desire you might afterwards ignominiously expel. Macduff having tried every means to arouse Malcolm's feelings, seemingly without effect, was going to take leave with these words: "Well, then, since neither the  
" love of thy country, nor the sufferings of thy  
" friends, can melt thy obdurate heart, may  
" God give thee a better way of thinking. For  
" my own part, since I am abandoned by all,  
" I will never return to see the ruin of my  
" country. I will hasten to foreign climes,  
" and devote the remainder of my life to the  
" Christian cause, and fight till death against  
" the enemies of our holy religion." Malcolm took the brave man by the hand, saying, experience had made him cautious; but he now agreed to Macduff's proposal with all his soul. They then concerted their plan. Macduff hastened to the borders of Scotland, and dispatched faithful messengers to the chiefs, soliciting them to expel the tyrant, and recal Malcolm, the lawful heir of the crown. Meanwhile, Malcolm obtained from Edward the Confessor an aid of 10,000 troops; but before they were begun to march, fame had spread the news, and divided the Scotch into two armies, which encamped opposite each other, and were alrea-



dy skirmishing; but the party which adhered to Malcolm were unwilling to measure their whole strength, and risk the fortune of their cause, until joined by the auxiliaries. Upon the arrival of the English forces, Macbeth, alarmed to see his foes so increased, and his own army diminishing, hastened to Perth to obtain a reinforcement, and soon encamped at Dunsinnan, resolved to wait the enemy there. Some of his more prudent friends advised him to retreat to the Hebrides, with all his treasure, and hire additional troops;—but Macbeth's fate was near, and confidence in his deceitful oracles betrayed him.

Malcolm hastened his pursuit, came to Birnam wood, where he ordered every soldier to cut down as large a branch as he could carry: then, after a short repose, he continued his march, crossed the Tay, and at early dawn, his army, carrying their boughs like a moving wood, appeared in full view of the enemy's lines. Macbeth trembled at the omen, and read his fate in the stratagem: He, however, drew out his army with a misgiving mind; but soon as Malcolm's soldiers had thrown away their boughs, and rushed to the attack, Macbeth's courage totally failed him, and he deserted his soldiers, who, disdaining to risk their lives in the service of a coward, immediately joined their lawful prince: but Macduff,

A. C. 1057.



A. C. 1057.



stimulated by anger, blown up to fury by a sense of the most grievous wrongs, pursued the fugitive, whom he overtook at Lunfanan. Macbeth, alighting from his horse, thus addressed his foe: "Why, ill-fated man! dost thou pursue me, who never can fall by any born of a woman. Approach, then, and receive the well earned wages of thy temerity." "Monster! enemy of mankind!" replied the indignant hero, springing from his horse like a vulture on his prey, "too long hast thou escaped the vengeance due to thy accumulated crimes. Now shalt thou fall a victim to this right hand: to me, who was never born of a woman, but cut from my mother's side."

Macbeth  
slain.

He said, and with his sword struck off Macbeth's head, which he fixed on a spear, and carried it back to the victorious Malcolm,—a gladdening spectacle to those who had groaned under the tyrant.

Malcolm  
called  
home.

Although Macbeth's mind, assailed by external danger and internal alarm, sunk in this trying crisis, yet his early prowess, in many a daring enterprise, had proved he was naturally no coward. An immensurate ambition had hurried him on to the commission of crimes, which at times must have galled him with remorse. To soothe these qualms he probably gave into fatalism; and to discover the fatality that regarded himself, he would naturally



have recourse to sorcery, and easily became the dupe of impostors ; and when, by fatal experience, he learnt the fallacy of their predictions, would be driven to despair. His talents, if properly directed, and guided by sound principles of probity and religion, might have done honour to himself and essential service to his country. His hypocrisy in affecting the virtues of liberality, justice, and humanity, only to acquire the power of indulging the contrary vices, shews, above all, the deep corruption and depravity of his heart.

A. C. 1057.



## SYNOPSIS

OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION,  
DURING THE NINTH AGE.

THE Saracens possessed the vast territories of the East, Palestine, Egypt, and a great portion of Africa. They became divided into separate sects and governments, and made war against each other. The caliphs sunk into effeminacy, and left the government to ministers, who disposed of places and offices at their pleasure, without regard to the public good,—established, deposed, and massacred the caliphs, and engrossed the whole power themselves, leaving only the shadow to the caliphs.

In the empire of Constantinople factions raised and dethroned the emperors, who thought of nothing but breaking down or setting up images, while barbarous nations attacked and ravaged the empire.

The Western empire fell back into the confusion from which Charlemagne had drawn it. History scarcely affords an example of two monarchs, the one immediately succeeding the



other, equal to Charlemagne. The genius of *Louis le Debonnaire* was too confined to embrace the vast plan which his father had formed. His sons, who by factions had, during his life, alternately taken away and restored his crown, divided his empire amongst themselves after his death. The empire was, therefore, broken down into three separate kingdoms, Italy, France, and Germany, which were torn to pieces by factions and civil wars. The grand system of government established by Charlemagne disappeared. His descendants were void of his talents: they had little virtue and less genius. They were ruled by their passions, their pleasures, and favourites. The laws were without force; the people ignorant and unprincipled. The Saracens laid waste the provinces.

Notwithstanding the disorders of that age, there were many virtuous bishops and ecclesiastics who espoused the cause of humanity, soothed the sufferings of the miserable, and strove, by the terrors and hopes of religion, to stem the torrent of vice and oppression. The people placed confidence in the virtuous bishops, made them the arbiters of their differences, and joined them in their endeavours to reform the church and state. The ecclesiastical councils of that age were full of exhortations and menaces addressed to the sovereigns,



who disturbed the public tranquillity, and abused their power and authority by acts of injustice against the church, the faithful, and public at large. They recalled the sovereigns and men in power to the memory of the awful moment of their death. But for the efforts of such virtuous men, every idea of justice and morality must have been extinguished in the Western world.

*Literature.* — The caliph Almamon was learned, favoured and sought out men of learning, to whatever country or religion they belonged. He bought celebrated books of every language, and caused them to be translated into the Arabic: he established many schools and public academies for teaching the sciences. The Mahomedan theologians disliked these institutions; and, though they dared not oppose them, asserted that Almamon must needs be punished in the next world for having introduced the sciences among the Arabians. Succeeding caliphs, though devoid of Almamon's learning, protected his establishments, and the sciences were improved, particularly that of astronomy, of which many exact observations were published; but that sublime study was abused by applying it to the vain and deceitful divinations of astrology.



In the West, literature, sacred and profane, was for some time cultivated in the numerous schools established by Charlemagne. The best classics were read and studied; arithmetic, astronomy, and other branches of natural philosophy were taught. Astronomy, which the Arabs applied to the discovery and prediction of future events, was, in the West, more usefully employed for the correction of the calendar and the order of festivals, as music was adapted to the church-office. But the confusion which, ere long, followed the death of Charlemagne, extinguished, in those countries, taste and leisure for the sciences: learning again retired to the cathedrals and abbeys. Even there it was disturbed by the disorder of the times. Civil discord and plunder banished the cultivation of letters and science from those asylums, and almost extinguished the rays of knowledge which Charlemagne had lighted up throughout his vast dominions.

The schools and seminaries of science, which the invasions of the Danes had well nigh extinguished in England for half a century, were restored by the care of Alfred, justly called Great, whose character is, that "He was possessed of every virtue and good quality, without imputation of any notable defect." That admirable king being himself a scholar, a good grammarian, philosopher, geometrician,



architect, and historian, he admitted no illiterate person to offices of distinction. Well aware how necessary religion and science are to the happiness of society, he established schools and academies for theology, the *belles lettres*, arithmetic, astronomy, music, &c. He drew, by his liberality, to England, men of the greatest learning, and the most celebrated artists. He omitted nothing to inspire his subjects with the love of piety, learning, and science; and, to complete the whole, he set the example in his own royal person, by spending daily eight hours in prayer and study, and other eight hours in giving audience to his people, and regulating the affairs of his kingdom.

A dispute which arose in this age, between two monks, about the manner in which Christ is present in the eucharist, gave occasion to much mistake among the Protestant theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Paschasius Ratbert, a Benedictine monk of the abbey of Corbie, in the year 831, wrote a treatise upon the body and blood of our Lord, for the instruction of the young religious; which, after having revised it, he sent to Charles the Bald in 845. In that work he asserts that the body of Christ in the eucharist is the same that was born of the blessed Virgin, was crucified, and rose again. Ratrame, or Bertram, another monk of the same



abbey, found fault with Paschasius' book; but, instead of clearing up the matter, he embroiled and embarrassed it yet more. On the one side, he uses the strongest expressions to establish that the eucharist is the real body and blood of Christ;—on the other, he seems only to admit a mystical change, and a manducation by faith. Mosheim acknowledges “that those controvertists seem inconsistent, and not to have understood their own sentiments, and that they have at least expressed themselves very ambiguously,”—which is certainly true of the latter. Claude, and several other Calvinist writers, have pretended, from this obscure dispute, that Paschasius was the first who broached the doctrine of transubstantiation, or the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. But Arnauld and Nicole, in the treatise entitled, *La Perpetuité de la Foi*, have evidently proved that the *real presence* was always believed and taught in the Catholic church. The Church surely had not to learn, in the ninth age, what was her belief of a mystery daily celebrated, and which she always considered as the principal act of her worship. A simple monk in Gaul could not have changed the faith of Asia, Greece, Spain, Italy, and Britain; far less that of the Nestorians and Eutychians, separated from the Catholic church three hundred years before. If the



word transubstantiation was new, its meaning certainly was not new. The Greek fathers had frequently used words of a similar import: Μεταβολη, change; Μεταποιησις, making anew; Μεταστοιχειώσεις, transelementing, or changing the subject matter.

The schism of the Greeks was a notable event in this age. Before Constantinople became the seat of empire, its bishops were suffragans of the metropolitan of Heraclea; but soon after that event took place, the bishops of Constantinople, trusting to court favour, began to aspire to the same jurisdiction over the East as the Roman see had hitherto exercised over the universal church. By degrees, they arrogated a superiority over the ancient patriarchal churches of Antioch and Alexandria, and assumed the title of œcumenical or universal bishop. Thus vanity, jealousy, and contempt of the Latins, were the first seeds of division. Mutual animosity increased in the seventh age. The Latins sometimes reproached the Greeks with paying an over-rated respect to images. The Greeks accused the Latins of heresy, for having added *filioque* to the Nicene Creed, to express the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son.

The Emperor Michael, surnamed the Drunkard, yielded up the command to Bardas, his uncle. Bardas married his niece: the patri-



arch Ignatius reprehended the one and the other. Enraged at his reproaches, they exiled the worthy prelate, and substituted in his place Photius, a layman, hastily and illegally ordained. Photius made his ordination be acknowledged in a council held at Constantinople 861. Ignatius unjustly deposed, complained to the Roman pontiff. Nicolas I. espoused the cause of Ignatius. Photius endeavoured to justify himself to the pope, but as he refused to yield to the right of Ignatius he was excommunicated by the pontiff; and pretending to excommunicate the pope in his turn, accused the bishops of heresy who remained in communion with the see of Rome. The see of Constantinople separated itself from the centre of unity.

Basil, the next emperor, deposed Photius, and reinstated Ignatius in his patriarchal see. Pope Adrian assembled the eighth general council at Constantinople, in the year 869, in which Photius was condemned as an intruder; but there was no question of the pretended heresies which Photius had objected to the Western bishops, which proves that the faith of the Greek church was not then different from that of the Latin.

Photius, by a forged and flattering genealogy, regained the favour of the Emperor Basil, and, [after the death of Ignatius, again



mounted the patriarchal throne. The pontiff John VIII., for the sake of peace and re-union, acknowledged Photius, but it is false, as some have alleged, that he admitted that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Son.

Photius, now replaced in the patriarchal chair, renewed his ambitious pretensions. To be œcumenical patriarch, he must again dissolve the union with Rome. He well knew how to profit by the antipathy of the Greeks against the Latins. To swell his party, he was noways delicate in the means. He renewed the former frivolous pretended grievances,—forged acts and subscriptions of a pretended council held at Constantinople in 867,—falsified the letter of John VIII. in the Greek translation, making the pontiff speak heresy in regard of the procession of the Holy Ghost. It was thus he drew the Greek church into schism. His triumph was of short duration. Six years afterwards the Emperor Leo, the philosopher, drove him from his patriarchal see, and shut him up in a monastery in Armenia, where he died in the year 891, despised and wretched.

Photius was of high birth, the brightest genius, and the most learned man of that age; but his great talents, and profound erudition, were tarnished by his boundless ambition, consummate hypocrisy, base falsehood, and wick-



edness, that stuck at no crime that could promote his selfish and mischievous views. He left many writings. That entitled his *βιβλιοθηκα*, or *Library*, is highly esteemed. It consists of a criticism upon 280 volumes which are now nearly lost, except the fragments which he has cited. That work probably gave rise to our modern reviews and literary journals.

Succeeding patriarchs of Constantinople persisted in their claim to the title of universal patriarch, and of independence of the Roman see. Yet the Roman pontiffs did not make a final breach with the Greek church; and matters so continued for the space of 150 years.

#### TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

IN the tenth age the Mussulman empire was divided into numberless governments. Many rival impostors had arisen, who rent into factions the enthusiasm of the nation. The caliphs became effeminate, dissolute, and contemptible. They were often deposed or assassinated with the Alcoran on their breasts, by the soldiery, by the ambitious or discontented. They retained a sort of pre-eminence in matters of religion, but the civil power fell into the hands of their vizirs or favourites.

In the eleventh age, Mahmoud, sultan of Bagdad, conquered the Indies, destroyed ido-



latry, and established Mahomedism by the butchery of 50,000 idolaters. The caliph, oppressed by the power of this formidable sultan, called in the Turks, *Seljoucides*, made their chieftain ruler of all his states, and proclaimed him king of the East and West. The successors of this new master warred against the empire of Constantinople, and encroached greatly on its remaining territories.

In the beginning of the tenth century, Leo the Philosopher reigned in Constantinople. His talents and wise government did not screen him from conspiracies. He quarrelled with the patriarch and clergy about a fourth marriage. The reigns of his successors were disturbed by conspiracies, impositions, parricides, rebellions, and civil wars, during that and the following age.

In the West, Italy was a continued scene of confusion, by the successive inroads of barbarians. Otho united Italy and Germany. He established in the latter the seat of his empire. His son Otho, and his grandson of the same name, were good warriors, and had sufficient exercise for their talents. The latter died ('tis said) by poisoned gloves sent him by a lady whom he had ill used. The West, therefore, continued no less divided and agitated than the East. If a virtuous and able sovereign arose at times, he could not re-establish order,



far less communicate his virtues and abilities to his successors.

Hugh Capet, the head of the third French dynasty, seized the government, and was crowned at Rheims, 987. He defended Paris with valour. About the same time, brave and virtuous warriors attacked and vanquished free-booters, and gave rise to knight-errantry.

A bold and enterprising pontiff, Gregory VII. wishing to reform church and state, mistook the extent of his power, attempted things far beyond his competence, and thereby set a bad example, caused great troubles, war, and much bloodshed. He excommunicated Henry IV. emperor of Germany, and, pretending to absolve his subjects from their allegiance, caused another to be elected. The emperor, in his turn, excommunicated the pontiff, and set up an antipope. Pilgrimages, in this age, became frequent to the Holy Land. The pilgrims did not always return with redoubled sanctity; but they drew moving pictures of the misery of Christians in Palestine. Hence the Crusades, which, though the scheme had more zeal than prudence, yet these expeditions had often the good effect of uniting Christians who would have otherwise fought against one another. The motives of the crusaders were different: some engaged through zeal, some for company's sake, some for honour, some that they



might escape the imputation of cowardice, some to avoid their creditors. Their success, like their views, was various.

*Literature.*—Whether from taste, habit, or vanity, the caliphs encouraged literary talents. They had their astronomers, physicians, philosophers, and artists. The Mussulman theologians had also their sects and their scholastic questions; their Pelagians, Origenists, Predestinarians, &c. The Turks, also, who had subdued Persia, Syria, and Palestine, in the eleventh century, had their astronomers, poets, and philosophers.

At Constantinople, Photius, learned himself, made some endeavour to light up the lamp of learning; but it is difficult to emerge from darkness and ignorance amidst factions political and religious. Men are then apt to dissolve in luxury, or sink in superstition. The marvellous was still the predominant taste. Mistaken zeal, endeavouring to correct men's faults, humoured their errors. Metaphrastes, amongst others, collected or invented many legendary lives of saints, and many extraordinary or false prodigies. Under Constantine Monomachus or Ducas, Psellus, the preceptor of that emperor's son, revived a little the love of letters; but the principal attainment then in vogue was the making syllogisms or so-



phisms, a study which tended rather to contract than enlarge the mind.

In the West, continual factions and wars invaded even the retreats of science. Every body, even the clergy, were obliged to arm in self-defence; yet there were still celebrated schools at Paris, at Arras, Cambray, Laon, and Luxeuil. Intercourse also with the Saracens in Spain awakened the taste for oriental languages. Romances also began to be written in the vulgar language, or corrupted Latin. The tenth age, disorderly and ignorant as it was, invented no new heresy: the faith of former ages subsisted.

In the eleventh century, in the West, the virtues and exertions of many pontiffs, bishops, and abbots, the fear of hell, and the anathemas of the church, intimidated the passions, and greatly repressed the frequency of pillage, rapine, and murder. The churches and monasteries were more respected: their schools were opened to all who had genius and thirst for knowledge, and whose limited fortunes could not otherwise procure the means of improvement. These schools were soon crowded with students full of ardour and emulation, which ere long were communicated to all ranks and conditions. Princes, nobles, and even ladies, cultivated learning and courted the muses. Literature, hitherto shut up in monasteries or



a few schools, made a kind of explosion which began to enlighten Europe. Ferocious bravery, hitherto the resource of ignorance and barbarity against irksomeness and languor, assumed a milder demeanour; valour was humanized. Tilts and tournaments succeeded duels and free-booting, which the want of rational occupation had rendered so common and so destructive in the preceding ages.

*Religion.*—In the year 1043, under the reign of Constantine Monomach, or Ducas, and under the pontificate of Leo IX., Michael Cerularius was elected patriarch of Constantinople. Wishing to substantiate his claim to the title of universal patriarch, he perceived that the supremacy of the Roman see was an invincible obstacle to his pretensions. He therefore revived the frivolous objections which Photius had made against that see and the Western church: 1st, The use of unleavened bread in the eucharist; 2d, The use of white meats, (*i. e.* all that is made of milk,) in Lent, and the allowance of eating things strangled; 3d, The fasting on Saturday observed at Rome; 4th, The not singing Alleluia in Lent: no mention was made of the procession of the Holy Ghost. Leo IX. answered his objections, but Cerularius refused to see his legates. Excommunications were mutually exchanged, and the



churches were separated. Cerularius became formidable to the emperor by his credit with the people,—was deposed by Isaac Comnenus, and sent into exile, where he died of chagrin in the year 1059, the 16th of his patriarchate.

In the West, learning was still imperfect. The study of the fathers and ancient ecclesiastical authors was too much neglected. Berengarius, professor of theology at St Martin's of Tours, and afterwards archdeacon of Angers, attempting to explain the mystery of the eucharist, fell into the opinion of impanation or consubstantiation, afterwards adopted by Luther, and probably in course of time into the figurative sense espoused by Calvin. Condemned by several popes, and by five or six councils, Berengarius retracted his errors, thrice signed Catholic professions of faith, and as often abjured them. He, however, at length died in the communion of the Catholic church, in the year 1088.



## CHAPTER VI.

Malcolm III. crowned at Scone—New titles and surnames—Patrick Dunbar created Earl of March—Malcolm's courage and magnanimity—Margaret, with her mother, brother, and sisters, driven into Queensferry—Malcolm conducts the strangers to Dunfermline—Marriage of Malcolm and Margaret—Margaret reforms Scotland—Birth and education of the royal family—Queen's exemplary piety—English and foreigners flock to Scotland—Inroad of the English—Peace concluded between William the Conqueror and Malcolm—Prince Edgar forced to quit Normandy—Malcolm's inroad into Northumberland—Reconciliation between Malcolm and Rufus—Internal disturbances suppressed—Malcolm lays siege to Alnwick, and is killed—Margaret's edifying sickness and death—Complaints of luxury introduced by the English—Donald Bane's usurpation—dethronement—Duncan, king, assassinated—Edgar crowned and anointed—Mathildes, sister of Edgar, married to Henry Beauclerc—King Alexander I. marries Sybilla, natural daughter of Henry I.—Alexander boldly passes the Spey at tide time—defeats and punishes free-booters—defeats assassins—is driven by storm into the isle of Inchcolm—Pretensions of English ecclesiastic jurisdiction resisted—David espouses the daughter of Waltheof—issue Prince Henry—Malcolm M'Heth—Stephen seizes the English crown—Agreement between David and Stephen—War with Stephen—Description of the standard—Battle of the Standard—Alberic the pope's legate interposes—Peace concluded—Corporations—Bishopricks erected—Religious houses—Henry II., knighted by David—Death of Prince Henry—Fealty sworn to Malcolm as heir of the crown—Death and character of David I.—Reflections on the monastic state—Margaret's reformation compared with a later one—List of Religious Houses.

A. C. 1057.

Malcolm  
III. crown-  
ed at  
Scone.

MALCOLM III. was crowned at Scone, on St Mark's day, the 25th April 1057. He called a council of the nobles at Forfar, where he amply recompenced those who had suffered



by adhering to his right, restored to them or to their lawful heirs the lands and honours confiscated and attainted by Macbeth. He raised many of the thanes to the rank of earls, such as Menteith, Athol, Lenox, Moray, Caithness, Ross, and Angus. Many also took their surnames from their lands, such as Calder, Lockhart, Gordon, Seton, Lauder, Meldrum, Shaw, Lermont, Menzies, Abercrombie, Leslie, &c. Many also took surnames from their offices, which surnames descended to their families, such as Stewart, Durward, Bannerman, Ferman. Macduff\* was created earl of Fife, and he and his heirs were to have the privileges, 1st, of placing the kings of Scotland on the throne at their coronation; 2d, that they should lead the van of the Scottish armies whenever the royal banner was displayed; 3d, that if he, or any of his kindred, should commit unpremeditated manslaughter, they should enjoy a special protection and should obtain a full remission upon paying a pecuniary mulct.† It is added, that Macduff and his heirs should possess what was called a regality, *i. e.* of nominating and appointing the magistrates and judges within his superiority, of recalling delinquents belonging to his district before his own judges, except in cases of treason. It was also enacted in

A. C. 1057.

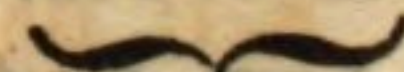
Titles and  
surnames.

\* Fordun, lib. 5. c. 9.

† Boethius, lib. xii. fol. 265.



A. C. 1057.

  
 Pot and  
 Gallows.

that council, that barons should have the power of *pot and gallows*, that is, of hanging men who were convicted of capital crimes, and of drowning women—for such was the punishment then inflicted on female offenders. Many other civil laws and religious regulations were enacted in this assembly, tending to the moral improvement of the subjects and the general order and happiness of the kingdom.

Some of Macbeth's friends took a simpleton called Luthalt the fool, a son or near relation of Macbeth, and crowned him at Scone. Macduff soon fell in with the party near Strathbogie, and killed the mock king with his subjects. Such, however, was the respect paid to the ceremony of coronation, that even this phantom of royalty was buried in Hyona, alongst with the remains of Macbeth.

Patrick Dunbar, at the head of a brave band, was sent in pursuit of a great body of freebooters; six hundred of the banditti were killed by the sword; eighty were taken alive and hung on gibbets, for which service Patrick was created Earl of March. He was commanded to bear in his arms a felon's head sprinkled with blood,\* and to keep East Lothian and Merse free from robbers.

Patrick  
 Dunbar  
 created  
 Earl of  
 March.

\* Lord Hailes counts this whole story an ignorant fiction, because the Earls of March gave a white lion. Where is the incompatibility? The white lion seems as like a fable as the bloody head.



An incident happened, which set both the courage and moderation of Malcolm in the fairest light. A group of villains had conspired to assassinate him ; but the king having discovered the plot, went a hunting near the place where they had laid their ambush, and calling the chief conspirator, led him into a lonely valley, surrounded with woods, where, unsheathing his sword, he thus addressed the traitor : “ You seek my life—take it : setting  
“ aside ambushes, let valour decide who is the  
“ best fellow.” The culprit instantly threw himself at the monarch’s feet, and begged and obtained forgiveness.

A. C. 1061.

Malcolm’s  
courage and  
magnani-  
mity.

Malcolm had contracted an intimate friendship with Tosti or Tostig, second son of the Earl of Godwin, and who succeeded Earl Siward in the government of Northumberland ; but some misunderstanding having arisen between these friends, Malcolm made a wasting inroad into that province, and violated the peace of St Cuthbert in Holy island.

The king was yet unmarried. *A good wife is a good portion* ; and heaven had provided for Malcolm one of the best of consorts.

The English, long harassed by Danish kings, had at length conspired among themselves, and massacred the greater part of the Danes in one night ; and Hardiknute, the last of the four Danish kings, left helpless, made



A. C. 1061.



*Malcolm  
the son of  
Canute  
king of  
Denmark*

away with himself. Earl Godwin was then sent to recal home, from Normandy, Alfred and Edward, sons of Eldred, whom their mother Emma had carried thither to preserve their lives. Alfred, nevertheless, fell a victim to the ambition of Godwin; but Edward, called afterwards the Confessor, escaped, arrived in England, was declared king, and, as we have seen, was greatly instrumental in restoring Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. But the truest heir of the English crown was in Hungary; for after the lamented death of Edmund, Canute the Dane, who already reigned over a part of England, obtained the whole, and, the better to secure that kingdom to his family, sent Edmund's two sons, Edmund and Edward, to Valgar king of Sweden, to be made away with; but that prince abhorring the detestable and bloody design of Canute, concealed the young princes for some time, and afterwards sent them to the court of Hungary, where they found an asylum. Edmund died without heirs: but Edward married Agatha, probably a niece of the Emperor Henry II. a lady who added to uncommon beauty and symmetry of person still greater excellencies of mind, candour of soul, and holiness of life. Edward had by her one son called Edgar, and two daughters, Margaret and Christina. Edward the Confessor, soon after he was esta-



A. C. 1066.

blished on the throne, resolved to call his nephew and namesake Edward, together with his family, from Hungary back to England, where they happily arrived, and Edward the uncle proffered the crown to his nephew, of which indeed he was the proper heir, but which he generously refused during his uncle's life. England, however, had not the good fortune to be governed by this virtuous prince, who died in the flower of his age; and his no less virtuous uncle did not long survive him.

EDGAR, young, and without sufficient friends, was supplanted by the artifice and bribery of Harold son of Godwin, who obtained the throne, but did not long enjoy it; for having exasperated William the bastard duke of Normandy, by the base treatment and shameful repudiation of his daughter, that prince invaded England, and having gained the battle of Hastings on the 14th October 1066, in which Harold was killed, he made an easy conquest of England, and was crowned king thereof on the 25th of December 1066.

Edgar, seeing himself, by these revolutions, frustrated of all hopes to possess the English crown, and not thinking himself altogether safe in that country, resolved to return to Hungary, and embarked accordingly, together with his mother and sisters; but being tossed by adverse winds, they were at length driven

St Margaret, with her mother, brothers, and sisters, driven into Queens-ferry.



A. C. 1066.



into the Frith of Forth in Scotland, and entered a port ever since called the Queensferry, in memory of Queen Margaret.

Malcolm  
conducts  
the stran-  
gers to  
Dunferm-  
line.

Malcolm being then at Dunfermline, had no sooner heard that a storm had forced some strangers of distinction into his dominions, than he went to enquire who they were; and being informed that they were of the royal family of England, mindful of the favours he had received from King Edward, went to the ferry himself, accompanied with a great train of the nobility. Edgar, understanding the honour done them, came forward with his mother and sisters apparelled in princely magnificence to meet the king, who received them with all possible courtesy and kindness, and conducted them to his palace at Dunfermline.

Malcolm  
marries  
Margaret.

Agatha had brought up her children with all the pious care that a wise princess and a loving mother is capable of. Malcolm was so smit with the virtues and endowments, the elegance of person and manners of Margaret, that within a few days he asked her in marriage; to which solicitation her mother and all parties readily agreed; and the nuptials were solemnized after the octave of Easter, with the utmost festivity and courtly splendour, and Margaret was crowned queen consort with all due solemnity.

It is so difficult a matter to be great and



holy at the same time, that the *Wise Man* deems it a miracle, “ *calling him blessed* who, amidst “ riches, could preserve his heart pure and detached ;” and pronouncing him worthy of praise, because he had done wonders in his lifetime. Now, it must be acknowledged that, if any ever deserved this praise, this young queen did : for she was no sooner seated on the throne, than she set about reforming her court. Her palace, furniture, officers, maids of honour, table, and all that appeared externally, were indeed suitable to the state and dignity of a great queen ; but she banished from her court all the disorders and impieties that are commonly to be met with in the courts of princes. She chose for her confessor Turgot, prior of Durham, who was afterwards promoted to the bishopric of St Andrew’s. Considering the whole kingdom as her family, and hearing that, on account of long wars, the nation was overrun by great abuses, and plunged in ignorance of many essential duties of religion, she therefore desired her confessor to give her an account of the state of the kingdom in that regard.

Turgot, overjoyed with the queen’s good intentions, candidly informed her that quarrels, feuds, and murders raged among the nobility, rapine among the commons, and incontinency among both ; that many churches were gone

A. C. 1066.



A. C. 1066.



to ruin by the carelessness of the clergy ; that the precepts for observing Sundays and holidays, the institution of Lent, and of Easter communion, were violated ; that there was great want of prelates and curates who had the virtue, learning, and other qualities necessary for their sublime functions. “ Thus, Ma-  
“ dam,” said Turgot, “ I have laid before your  
“ Majesty the true state of your kingdom, and  
“ the fair field that God offers you for reaping  
“ a rich harvest, if well cultivated.” The good queen replied, “ Father, I well know that  
“ this enterprize, though difficult, is not  
“ impossible ; for I hope God will provide the  
“ means to reform all these irregularities, and  
“ that you will employ your utmost endeavours  
“ to make my designs succeed happily.”\*

Margaret, by the most tender complaisance, and the most condescending and engaging carriage, always full of respect, gained so great an ascendant over her husband as to be entirely mistress of his heart ; which influence she only exerted to make religion and justice reign, to render her subjects happy, and her husband one of the most virtuous kings that have adorned the Scottish throne. She softened his temper, cultivated his mind, polished his manners, and inspired him with the most perfect max-

\* Butler's *Saints Lives*.



ims and sentiments of virtue; and he had such confidence in her wisdom and prudence, that he not only left to her the management of his domestic affairs, but also followed her advice in the government of the state.

A. C. 1066.

Margaret  
reforms  
Scotland.

Turgot was ordered to choose clergy fit to reform the manners of the people, and the queen herself used all her care and influence to procure holy and zealous pastors and preachers to be established in all parts of her dominions. She, moreover, seconded their ministry by the weight of the royal authority, and that of all the magistrates; and had the comfort to see, by her zealous and pious exertions, the strict observance of Lent restored, and the devout celebration of Sundays and festivals enforced, the people consecrating those days to the service of God, by assisting at the whole church office and instructions, as also at private devotions—simony, usury, incestuous marriages, superstitions, sacrilege,\* &c. abolished,—and sinners

\* Here again we meet with the embarrassing story of the commutation of the disgraceful law of Evenus, which Lord Hailes deems “*one of the worst fables in the fabulous history of Hector Boece*,” but of which even the elaborate dissertation of the learned lord does not, in my opinion, nor probably in his own opinion, solve the difficulty. For how can we imagine that a man, so reputable among his learned contemporaries as Boece was, with the history of Veremundus, and the history or panegyric of Malcolm and Margaret by Turgot, before him, could invent and palm upon the public a gross falsehood, and appeal to the standing practice of the country in his own time for the demand and payment of the ransom. This is what no man in his senses could have done without some document to support his relation. To say that Boece may have copied from a translation of Turgot’s panegyric, does not mend the matter. For why should the translator have foisted in such a fiction? I readily allow, that *Marcheta mulierum* signifies only a *tributum*, or tax in money or money-worth;



A. C. 1066.



were engaged to cancel their crimes by worthy fruits of repentance.

The queen laboured most successfully to polish and civilize the Scottish nation, to encourage both the useful and polite arts, and to inspire them with a love of the sciences, and with the principles of all the social and moral virtues; all which she incited her husband to promote, by many salutary laws and regulations.

Charity to the poor was her darling virtue. Her own coffers could not suffice her liberality to them; and she was often obliged to make use of a liberty which the king allowed her of bestowing a part of what he had reserved for his own use and necessities. Within doors, the hall of the palace was filled with poor: whenever she went out she was surrounded by troops of widows, orphans, and other distressed persons, who flocked to her as to their common mother; nor did she ever send any one away without relief. In Lent and Advent, the royal couple set the most striking examples of humility, tenderness, and liberality to the suffering members of Jesus Christ.

but the base law here alluded to only assumed this appellation after its commutation. I agree with Lord Hailes, that the learned have written absurdly on this subject. I am as unwilling to believe the existence of this brutal law in our country as his lordship can be; but I cannot agree in imputing to so learned and so respectable a man as Hector Boece the character of a fabulist. That he was somewhat credulous, and a lover of the marvellous, is no great wonder in an age when true criticism had not attained its perfection. I leave this subject in the obscurity from which I cannot extricate it.—“*Dicere non audeo, quod et scire non possum.*”



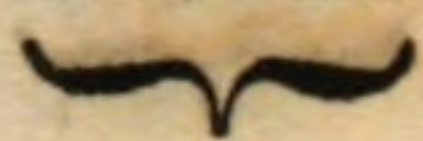
Malcolm and Margaret were blessed with a numerous and virtuous offspring, six boys, Edward, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, Alexander, and David, and two daughters, Maud, or Mathildes, who was married to Henry I., Beauclerc, king of England, and Mary, who married Eustache, count of Boulogne. Of the sons, Edgar, Alexander, and David, successively came to the crown, as we shall see. The happiness of these princes, and that of the whole kingdom by them, was owing, under God, to the pious care of Queen Margaret in their education. She did not suffer them to be brought up in vanity, pride, and pleasures, which too often prove the misfortune of those who are born in courts. She inspired them with an early indifference to the things of this world, with the greatest ardour for virtue, the purest love of God, fear of his judgment, and dread of sin. She chose for them the ablest preceptors and governors, persons eminently endowed with the spirit of piety and religion, and would suffer none but such to approach them, being sensible that tender minds receive the strongest and most lasting impressions from the behaviour of those with whom they converse, especially masters. Instructions are dry, but the words and actions of persons breathe the spirit and sentiments of their hearts, and insensibly communicate the same

A. C. 1066.

Birth and  
education  
of the  
royal fa-  
mily.



A. C. 1066.



to others. The zealous mother watched over the masters, examined the progress of her children, and often instructed them herself in all Christian duties. No sooner were the young princes of an age capable of profiting by her example, than she made them her companions in her spiritual exercises and good works. She daily, by most fervent prayers and tears, besought Almighty God to preserve their innocence, and fill their souls with the sentiments of those virtues which she endeavoured to instil into them. She extended her care to her servants and domestics; and the sweetness and tender charity with which she seasoned her lessons, rendered her endeavours the more effectual.

By her prudent zeal and example, concord, charity, modesty, religion, piety, and devotion reigned in the whole court, in which virtue was the chief recommendation to the royal favour, and the want thereof the most certain disgrace.

Queen's exemplary piety.

The short time which the queen allowed herself for sleep, and the retrenchment of all amusements and pastimes, procured her many hours in the day for her devotions. In Lent and Advent she always rose at midnight, and went to the church to matins. Returning home, she found six poor persons ready for her. She washed their feet, and gave each a



plentiful alms to begin the day. She then slept again an hour or two, then rising returned to her chapel, where she heard mass, and remained a considerable time in pious meditation. She had also other hours in the day for prayer in her closet, where she was often bathed in tears. Her eating was so sparing, that it barely sufficed to sustain life. She often importuned her confessor to admonish her of whatever he perceived blame-worthy in her words and actions. Her humility made her desire reprehensions and corrections, which the pride of others cannot brook.

Malcolm and his virtuous queen endowed with certain lands and révenues the four bishoprics of Galloway, St Andrews, Glasgow, and Mortlach, which were almost ruined, and erected those of Moray and Caithness. They caused, likewise, to be rebuilt all the churches which had been ruined by the wars, and furnished such as were unprovided with vestments and other things necessary for divine service. They built, also, the cathedral of Durham; and began and greatly advanced the stately church of Dunfermline, dedicated to the blessed Trinity, and which the queen enriched with many jewels of great value, with vessels of gold and silver curiously wrought, and with a black cross full of diamonds, which she brought out of England. It was finished by

A. C. 1066.



English  
and foreign  
are sent to  
Scotland.



A. C. 1066.

their son Alexander I. Musselburgh and Inveresk, with the parish church, mills, and harbour, Burntisland with its castle and harbour, Kirkcaldy, Kinghorn, &c. belonged to this abbey.

Margaret, by her wise counsels, had perfectly convinced her royal consort that the love of peace is the first duty of him who is the common father of his people; war being the greatest of temporal calamities, by which the victorious and the vanquished are involved almost in the same ruin. Malcolm, however, did not forget that it is the indispensable duty of a king to be expert in war, and always in readiness to protect his subjects.

English  
and foreign-  
ers flock to  
Scotland.

Gospatrik and Merleswain, with many other nobles of the highest rank in the north of England, dreading the severity of the Norman, and consulting their own liberty and safety, as well as that of the remains of the late Saxon race of their princes, fled for refuge to Scotland, where they met with a hospitable reception from Malcolm. Many, not only English families, but also French and Hungarians, are said to have settled in Scotland about this time, and purchased or had donations of lands.

The Danes, with a powerful army, arrived in Northumberland the 11th September. They were joined by the male-content lords, and



(according to some) by Edgar Ætheling, with some Scottish troops. They stormed the castle of York, and put the garrison to the sword; but the Conqueror bribed the Danes to retire, conciliated Gospatrick and Waltheof the son of Sivard, and dissolved the confederacy.

A. C. 1070.

Next year, Malcolm entered the English territories, by the way of Cumberland, then subject to him, and made great devastation along the course of the Tees, and in Cleveland. Meanwhile Gospatrick made an inroad into Cumberland, and ravaged that district. Malcolm, enraged at a warfare which resembled his own, wasted Northumberland, and carried off so many captives that scarce a hovel in Scotland was without an English slave of the one or other sex.

As if this devastation made by the Scotch had not been sufficient, the Norman himself reduced the country to a wilderness, from the Humber to the Tees, especially near the sea, that if the Danes should make another descent on that coast they might not be able to find subsistence.

William was now at leisure to undertake an expedition against the Scottish king, with a considerable army, and a great fleet. Malcolm met him with a suitable array on the frontiers, at a place which the English annalists call Abernithi, about which antiquaries differ.

1072.

Inroad of  
the English.



A. C. 1072.

Peace concluded between William the Conqueror and Malcolm.

Some suppose it to have been on the Nith, at or below Dumfries. Malcolm did homage to William for the lands he held in England, and a peace was concluded.

William deprived Gospatrick of his earldom of Northumberland. That nobleman then fled for safety to Scotland; was forgiven by Malcolm for his past breach of friendship, and obtained Dunbar, with the adjoining lands in Lothian, for the support of himself and household.

1079.

Some private jealousies between the Normans and the Saxon-Northumbrians broke out in mutual quarrels and assassinations, in one of which Walcher, bishop of Durham, and then holding the earldom of Northumberland, was killed. Odo, the right reverend and warlike uterine brother of the Conqueror, being sent down with an army to punish this outrage, put many to death, mutilated others, and laid waste the country. Malcolm pursued Odo, defeated his forces, lightened him of his booty, and wasted Yorkshire.

1080.

Next year, William sent his eldest son, Robert, to oppose the progress of the Scotch. Malcolm retired, and Prince Robert contented himself with building the fortress then called Monkchester, but afterwards named Newcastle upon Tyne. A peace was agreed on, and a stone cross, called King's Cross, with the sta-



tues and arms of the two *monarchs* on the *opposite sides*, was erected on *Stane* moor,\* as the boundaries of the two kingdoms.

A. C. 1080.



The Conqueror dying, was succeeded in Normandy by Duke Robert his eldest son, and in England by his second son William Rufus. Edgar had obtained in Normandy a settlement from Henry, the youngest son of William. The fierce and usurping temper of Rufus led him to take advantage of the indolence and mildness of his brother Robert, and to invade his dominions in Normandy; and he also obliged Edgar to abandon that country. Malcolm, displeased with the succession of Rufus to the crown of England, and probably resenting the expulsion of his brother-in-law from Normandy, seized the opportunity of Rufus' absence, invaded Northumberland, and carried off considerable spoils.

Prince Edgar obliged to quit Normandy. Malcolm displeased, makes an inroad into Northumberland.

A reconciliation being effected between the Conqueror's two sons, by means of the Norman barons who held lands in both kingdoms, and Rufus having learned Malcolm's invasion of Northumberland, returned to England, accompanied by his brother Robert, and soon after undertook an expedition against Scotland by sea and land. The fleet was dispersed and almost totally destroyed by a storm, and the land army suffered much from cold and scar-

\* This cross stood between Richmondshire and Cumberland.



A. C. 1087.

Reconcilia-  
tion be-  
tween Mal-  
colm and  
Rufus.

city of provisions. Malcolm met him with his forces somewhere on the frontiers. Edgar was then, with Malcolm and Duke Robert, also coming to the Scottish camp. By the mediation of these two moderate princes, a peace was concluded between the two kings. Malcolm paid the same homage to Rufus which he had done to his father. Rufus consented to restore to Malcolm twelve towns or manors which he had held under the Conqueror, and to pay him annually twelve marks of gold.

Internal  
disturban-  
ces suppres-  
sed.

An insurrection, which broke out in Galloway, was bravely quelled, and their leader, M'Glow, slain by Walter Stewart; who also suppressed, with great slaughter, another sedition in the Hebrides. A third more extensive and more dangerous rebellion of the districts of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, together with a great number of Hebridians, with M'Duncan at their head, was happily composed by the king in person, who having passed the Spey, and just going to attack the rebel army, was appeased by the friendly mediation of the bishops and other pious persons, on these conditions, viz. that the common people should return quietly to their homes, and that the nobles should surrender themselves to the king, and submit to what punishment he deemed proper to inflict, only that their lives should be spared. The properties of many



were confiscated, and themselves kept prisoners in fortified places until their death.

A. C. 1087.



Malcolm having now settled his kingdom in tranquillity, applied himself to improve it in the arts of peace, and to join his queen in setting examples of piety and charity. The imitation of the royal couple had such a happy effect amongst all ranks, that Christianity, under their reign, seemed to reappear in all the purity and lustre of primitive ages.

Malcolm  
lays siege to  
Alnwick.  
is killed.

William, probably dissatisfied that the Scotch should possess Cumberland, with part of Northumberland, by erecting a castle at Carlisle, and, according to our Scottish historians, surprising the castle of Alnwick, and putting the garrison to the sword, gave just offence to Malcolm. A personal interview of the kings was proposed. Malcolm repaired to Gloucester, where Rufus then held his court; but Rufus behaved to him with great insolence and disdain, refusing him access to his person, and insisting that Malcolm should submit the matter in dispute between them to the judgment of the peers of England. That judgment Malcolm absolutely declined, affirming that such controversies were wont to be settled on the marches by the nobles of both kingdoms. These proposals being rejected by Rufus, Malcolm returned to his kingdom in high displeasure, and assembling

1092.



A. C. 1093.

Malcolm  
lays siege to  
Alnwick.  
Is killed.

a tumultuous army, rushed into Northumberland, ravaging it with fire and sword; laid siege to the castle of Alnwick, and it was on the point of surrendering, when a bold soldier, called Morael of Bamburgh, made a daring and dangerous attempt for its rescue. He mounted a swift and able steed, bearing no other armour than a spear, to which were affixed the keys of the castle gates, and thus rode on to the enemy's camp, as if to make a surrender. The Scottish guards let him pass, and the army received him with a shout of joy, supposing their long labour at an end, and conducted him to their monarch. The king meanwhile hearing the loud clamour, came out of his tent to see what was the matter: the trooper lowered his spear, which, while the king was stretching out his hand to receive the keys, he thrust into his body, and killed him on the spot; then instantly spurring his horse, he escaped into a neighbouring forest. The Scottish army, disheartened by this irreparable loss, raised the siege, and buried the remains of their beloved king in the abbey of Tynemouth. Their sorrow was increased by the death of Prince Edward, Malcolm's eldest son, who, at the same time, in a skirmish with the English near Alnwick, was mortally wounded, and first of the royal family was buried at Dunfermline.

Malcolm maintained through life the charac-



ter of undaunted bravery, and unsullied honour. He won his kingdom, by his valour, from a bold usurper, and he maintained it by prudence, policy, and courage against powerful and crafty external foes, and against the insidious attempts of internal rebels. He was docile in receiving from his queen the impressions of humanity, refinement of manners, and genuine piety and virtue; and his uniform study was to render his subjects virtuous and happy. *He reigned thirty-six years.*

At the time when the king was slain, the queen lay on her death-bed. She had for six months perceived that her dissolution was drawing near. Her last interview with her confessor is thus related by him. After conversing, with compunction and floods of tears, upon the state of her soul, she concluded with, "Farewell; for I shall not be here long. You will for some time survive me. Two things I have to request of you; the one is, that, so long as you live, you remember my poor soul in your masses and prayers; the other is, that you assist my children, and teach them to fear and love God. These things you must promise me here, in the presence of God, who alone is witness of our discourse." On the day that the king was killed, she appeared melancholy, and said to those about her, "Perhaps, this day, a greater evil hath befallen Scotland than

A. C. 1093.

St. Mary's  
ret's eddy-  
ing sickness  
and death.



A. C. 1093.

  
St Margaret's edifying sickness and death.

“ any this long time.” On the fourth day after, her pains being somewhat abated, she got up and went into her oratory, where she received the holy communion : soon after, her fever and pains returned upon her with redoubled anguish. She again laid herself down on her couch, and desired her chaplains to recite the Psalms by her, and recommend her soul to God. She held in her hands the black cross, which she embraced, and signed herself with it, repeating these words of the Psalmist, “ Have  
“ mercy on me, O God, according to thy great  
“ mercy, and according to the multitude of thy  
“ tender mercies blot out my iniquity. Cast  
“ me not away from thy face, and take not thy  
“ holy spirit from me. A sacrifice to God is an  
“ afflicted spirit ; a contrite and humbled heart,  
“ O God, thou wilt not despise,” &c. Meanwhile her son Edgar, returning from the army, approached her bedside. “ How fares it with  
“ the king and my Edward ?” The youth stood silent, then faltered, *they were well*. “ I know  
“ how it is,” said she : “ By this holy cross, and  
“ by your filial affection, I adjure you, tell me  
“ the truth.” He told their fate. Then lifting her eyes and hands towards heaven, she said,  
“ I thank thee, Almighty God, that, in sending me so great an affliction in the last hour  
“ of my life, thou wouldst purify me from my  
“ sins as I hope in thy mercy. O Lord Jesus  
“ Christ, who by thy death hast given life to



“the world, deliver me from all evil.” Praying thus, she was loosed from the bonds of her mortal body on the 16th of November. Her remains were interred in the church of the Holy Trinity at Dunfermline as she had desired, and her royal husband’s body was afterwards transferred, with solemn pomp, to the same place, by their son Alexander.\* At the change of religion in Scotland, the remains of St Margaret and her husband were privately rescued from the profanation of the plundering mob, and the principal parts afterwards carried into Spain. King Philip II. built a chapel in the palace of the Escorial for their reception. The head of St Margaret having been brought to Edinburgh to Queen Mary Stewart,—after her flight into England, it was, by a Benedictine monk, conveyed to Antwerp in 1597, and afterwards given by him to the Scotch Jesuits at Douay, where it was kept in a silver case. It was still in the Scotch college at Douay when I left it in the year 1785. The skull was entire, and some fine fresh fair hair upon it.

The deaths of this royal and pious couple were an irretrievable loss to Scotland: The abuses they had corrected, the evil customs they had abolished, the knowledge and respect

A. C. 1093.



Compliments  
against the  
very introduction  
of the  
English.

\* Butler’s *Saints Lives*.



A. C. 1093.



of religion, the attendance on the divine worship, introduced by their authority, and promoted by their example; the advancement of civilization, and the encouragement given to the perfection of arts and sciences, had already wrought an astonishing reformation in the kingdom: and if they had lived until these improved manners had been confirmed by habit, the happy change might have been more permanent. The poor especially, in Queen Margaret, lost a tender mother, a powerful patroness, and a most beneficent and profuse benefactress.

“ Long her loss might Scotland weep;

‘ Ne’er again her likeness see;

“ Long her strains in sorrow steep,

“ Strains of immortality.”——GRAY.

Complaints  
against lux-  
ury introdu-  
ced by the  
English.

The English families which had settled in Scotland had introduced, together with the English tongue, the English customs of eating and drinking; and the ancient nobles, who attributed to the old temperance, sobriety, and

*N. B.*—Lord Hailes seems to think Turgot in danger of being inserted in the *Index Expurgatorie*, for admiring more in Margaret the works of mercy than if she had wrought miracles. Every Catholic will, without hesitation, agree with Turgot. Works of mercy, when properly performed, are highly beneficial and sanctifying to the performer, united with the merits of Christ. Whereas miracles are chiefly intended for the faith and edification of others, and do not of themselves sanctify the person whom Almighty God makes the instrument of their performance.

Agatha, the mother of Queen Margaret, and Christina, her sister, had, some time before the death of the queen, retired to a nunnery. Mathildes, the wife of Henry I. of England, imitated the virtues of her mother. She built two great hospitals at London, Christ’s Church and St Giles.



parsimony of Scotland, that gigantic stature, that brawney vigour, and famed prowess, so formidable to their enemies, were alarmed lest such indulgence might enervate the bodies, sink the valour, and corrupt the minds of the hardy Caledonians. They had therefore solicited their beloved Malcolm, when they perceived the danger, to obviate the growing evil by sumptuary laws, similar to those made by Constantine son of Kenneth. The king used all his endeavours to this effect, and set the best example by his own abstemiousness. But human corruption is ever more prone to evil than good; the lure had been tasted, and it was difficult to restrain the appetite: And yet the indulgence, then complained of, extended only to eating twice a-day; and nobody thought of having more than two dishes served up at table. What then would these worthies think were they to look up and see the present luxuries?

Immediately after Malcolm's death his brother Donald Bane, who for fear of Macbeth had fled to the Hebrides, and who seems never to have frequented his brother's court, nor mingled in society with the new families who had settled in Scotland, began to aspire to the throne, and, for that purpose, formed an alliance with Magnus king of Norway, promising him possession of the Hebrides if he himself

A. C. 1093.



A. C. 1093.

Donald  
Bane's  
usurpation.

obtained the Scottish crown. But the principal cause of Donald's success was the antipathy that many had conceived against the new settlers, and the luxury which they imagined was chiefly introduced by them; and the probability that Donald, who had long been habituated to the ancient simplicity, parsimony, and hard manner of living of the Scottish nation, would effectually put a stop to a luxury and indulgence which tended, they thought, to ruin the strength, the valour, and the morals of their countrymen. Yet the greater part of the nobility, mindful of the virtues of Malcolm and Margaret, were well affected to their family, and rather permitted than approved of Donald's usurpation.

Edgar Ætheling, meanwhile, to secure from danger his nephews, who were all minors, brought them, together with their sisters Matildes and Mary, to England, and supported them privately. A mercenary flatterer informed Rufus that Edgar was secretly and treasonably maintaining pretenders to his crown; but as the accuser could adduce no proof, a knight who espoused Edgar's cause, challenged the delator to single combat, (the mean at that time resorted to for discovering the truth,) and killed him.

Donald being seated on the throne, expelled the foreigners whom Malcolm had received



and protected; but ere he had reigned six months, he one night, over his cups, let drop a threat against the heads of those who should not immediately swear fealty to him: which threat sunk deeper than he foresaw into the minds of those whom it regarded, and Duncan, (a natural son of Malcolm, who had distinguished himself by his military talents, and who being left in England as an hostage had been by Rufus invested with the honour of knighthood, and retained in his service,) was invited by many of the Scottish nobles to oppose his uncle. Duncan sought the permission of Rufus to accept of this invitation, and obtained it. Aided by a numerous band of adventurers, English and Norman, he marched to Scotland; but before any engagement took place, the greater part of Donald's army deserted him and joined Duncan, who, without bloodshed, was proclaimed king. Donald escaped in safety to the Hebrides.

DUNCAN, though a good soldier, was totally ignorant of civil government, and ruling in a military arbitrary manner incurred the odium of the nation. Donald was soon informed of this, and having corrupted Mackpendir Earl of Mearns, by his means, Duncan, after a reign of six months was assassinated at Menteth, and Donald again mounted the throne; but his reign was short, and troubled by in-

A. C. 1094.

Donald de-  
throned.Duncan,  
king, is  
assassinat-  
ed.



A. C. 1094.

roads of the English on the one hand and by the Hebridians on the other. At length Magnus king of Norway seized on the Orkney isles, which the Scotch could not suffer; and supposing that usurpation was with the connivance of Donald, they invited young Edgar to his father's throne, promising to assist him with all their heart and power.

Edgar having, with the approbation of Rufus, assembled a body of troops, marched towards Scotland; but resting at Durham, he was (according to Fordun) admonished in sleep by St Cuthbert to take alongst with him the saint's banner, which injunction he readily obeyed. Donald no sooner perceived that banner displayed along with the royal standard, than his mind misgave him; he was deserted by his army, was taken and thrown into prison, where, by a barbarous policy, his eyes were put out, and pain, grief, and age soon ended his life.

1098.

Edgar marched to Edinburgh, then visited the tombs of his mother and brother,—caused a solemn service to be performed for the repose of their souls,—assumed the reins of government,—and was soon after (the first of the Scottish kings) solemnly anointed by Godric, bishop of St Andrew's; Queen Margaret having, during her life, obtained a grant of that rite from Pope Urban II.



Edgar, in gratitude to St Cuthbert, rebuilt, in his honour, the ancient religious house where Ebba and her nuns were barbarously burnt by the Danes, and the edifice reduced to ashes, 870. Edgar now made it a priory, and bestowed it upon the Benedictine monks of Durham.

A. C. 1098.

William Rufus being killed by a chance arrow in the New Forest, Edgar renewed with Henry Beauclerc the treaty he had made with Rufus, and gave him in marriage his sister Matildes, commonly called the Good. From that marriage sprung William, Richard, Euphemia, and Matildes. Edgar reigned nine years in great tranquillity, beloved and revered by the good, and so dreaded by the bad that no external war or internal commotion troubled his reign. He died at Dundee 1107, and was interred at Dunfermline.

1100.

Mathildes, sister to K. Edgar, is married to Henry Beauclerc.

ALEXANDER, surnamed the Fierce, succeeded his brother Edgar. Henry King of England cultivating amity with Scotland, gave his natural daughter Sibilla, in marriage to Alexander I.\* Edgar had bequeathed the lands possessed by the Scottish kings in Cumberland to his youngest brother David; Alexander at first disputed the validity of that deed, but perceiving that the English barons espoused the interest of David, he consented to this curtailment of the Scottish dominions.

Jan. 8. 1107. King Alexander marries Sibilla, natural daughter of King Henry I.

\* Lord Hailes, from Aldred.



A. C. 1107.



King Alex-  
ander I.  
boldly rides  
through the  
Spey at  
tide-time—  
defeats and  
punishes  
the depre-  
dators of the  
country.

Jan. 8.  
1107.  
King Alex-  
ander I.  
rides Spey  
natural  
daughter of  
King Hen-  
ry I.

A set of free-booters, the scourges of the country, in Moray and Ross-shire, learning that the young king was assiduous in the churches, thought he must needs be of a soft and indolent disposition, and, therefore, broke out in the most atrocious plunder and slaughter, insomuch that their brutality did not spare women, nor even innocent babes, who smiled at the drawn blade of their murderers. Alexander, stimulated with indignation against such barbarities, followed them to the Spey, which being then swelled by the tide, the free-booters hoped the progress of the king would be stopped; but he undauntedly spurred his horse into the river, and his soldiers, ashamed not to share the danger of their prince, followed him. The depredators, struck with the bold attempt, fled precipitately, but the king pursued: many were killed: all the ringleaders were either slain or captured, and hung on gibbets. Returning through the Mearns, a poor woman fell at his feet, weeping and complaining that her husband and son had been severely scourged by the son of the Earl of Mearns, whom they had cited before a judge for the payment of a just debt. The king alighted instantly from his horse, and before he mounted again had the culprit punished according to his desert. He then returned to the castle of Baledgar, which



he had already begun to build. The forests in that vicinity had formed a haunt and retreat for robbers, who, whilst he was carrying on the building, formed a conspiracy to murder him; and having bribed his chamberlain, they were during the night let into the castle by the privy, and hoped to complete their villainy while the king was asleep in his chamber: but providentially the king was not asleep, and grasping a sword which hung at his bed-head, at their entrance slew the chamberlain, with six of the gang: the rest hearing a noise in the hall, and fearing to be intercepted, fled precipitately; but the greater part were overtaken and cut in pieces. Alexander was henceforth allowed to possess and improve his kingdom in peace. He built a new church at Scone, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St Michael, and gave it to the canons regular of St Augustine, first introduced into Scotland by Athelwolphus prior of St Oswald of Nostel in Yorkshire, who, at the desire of king Alexander, established them at Scone. Crossing the Frith of Forth, Alexander was driven by a storm into the isle Aemon, Inch-Colme, where he and his attendants had nothing to live upon for several days, except some scraps of provisions afforded them by a poor hermit, the keeper of a small chapel of St Columba. Alexander, in gratitude for his preservation,

A. C. 1107.

Alexander  
bravely de-  
feats a gang  
of assassins.

1114.

Is driven by  
a storm into  
the isle of  
Inch-  
Colme.



A. C. 1118



Alexander  
bravely de-  
fended his  
kingdom  
of Scotland

built in that island a convent also, for the regular clerks of St Austin, which was dedicated to St Columba. He increased also the revenue and land of the see of St Andrews. Finally, he completed the abbey of Dunfermline, begun by his parents, and translated thither from Tynemouth the remains of his father. Matildes queen of England died 1st of May 1118. Sibilla, Alexander's queen, died suddenly at Loch-Tay 12th June 1122.

1122.

Lord Hailes has here minutely detailed the circumstances of a difficulty in which Alexander was involved by a claim of metropolitan jurisdiction made by the archbishop of York over the Scottish bishops. Turgot had received consecration from the archbishop of York, with this special salvo or stipulation, "*saving the authority of either church.*" After the retirement and demise of Turgot, the same difficulty recurred in establishing his successor in the see of St Andrew's. Alexander, hoping to get rid of this embarrassment, applied to Ralph archbishop of Canterbury to send him a monk from Canterbury to fill the vacant see, and that this monk should *be set at liberty* from English jurisdiction; but he found the archbishop of Canterbury, and his monk, as hard to deal with as was the archbishop of York. Had Alexander at once caused the see to be filled by a Scottish bishop

Pretensions  
of English  
ecclesiastic  
jurisdiction  
resisted.

the king of  
Scotland  
Colme



as it had been in former times, and then, if the English bishops had remonstrated, the Scottish clergy might have replied, as they did afterwards in the reign of king William the Lion, "That Scotland, from the first introduction of the Christian faith, had been free, and subject to no jurisdiction out of the realm, but to that of the sovereign pontiff, in quality (*velut*) of the vicar of Christ."

Even then, indeed, the Scottish church maintained its independence: for Alexander having procured Robert, an English monk, and prior of Scone, to be elected bishop of St Andrew's, the archbishop of York renewed his pretensions, but was answered that St Andrew's depended not on York, either of right or by long usage.

Alexander, after a happy reign of seventeen years, died the 27th of April, beloved and lamented by all, and was buried beside his father in Dunfermline.

DAVID, the youngest son of Malcolm III. now obtained the throne, which none could better deserve. During the reigns of his brothers he had remained in England with Matildes his sister, and had espoused Maud or Matildes, the only child of Waltheof earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon, by Judith, niece to William the Conqueror on the mother's side. Matildes, who had been formerly

A. C. 1123.

1124.



A. C. 1124.

David had  
espoused  
the daugh-  
ter of Wal-  
theof earl  
of Northum-  
berland,—  
had a son  
Henry.

married to Simon de St Liz, earl of Northampton, was a lady renowned for virtue and beauty, and brought her husband a great dowry by her inheritance. The fruit of that marriage was a son called Henry, in whom, from his childhood, shone forth the amiable dispositions of both his parents.

Although David, at his accession to the Scottish throne, might well be welcomed from the remembrance of the virtues of his parents, yet he needed no other recommendation to conciliate the public favour than the fame of his own good qualities; nor did his reign disappoint the hopes of his subjects.

Making a general tour through his kingdom, like his predecessors, for the administration of justice, he, with great condescension, personally judged the causes in which the poor were concerned, leaving those of the rich to the decision of his deputies; but even in these, when he perceived any malversation, he caused the judge to indemnify the loser at his own expense. He, like his father, checked the growth of spreading luxury, and banished from the kingdom the inventors or promoters of refinements in cookery, or incentives to gluttony and intemperance. He forbade tippling-houses, as the bane of morals.

Soon after his accession, David was visited by John of Crema, cardinal-priest, legate of Pope Honorius II. and probably the first who



entered Scotland invested with this commission. His chief errand hither (as appeared from a letter he brought the king from his Holiness,) was to enquire into the controversy concerning the pretensions of the see of York and the liberties of the Scottish church. A council for that purpose was held at Roxburgh, but nothing was finally resolved on. Some years after, the consecration of Robert, bishop-elect of St Andrew's, (which, by this question, had been long delayed,) was performed by Thurstin, archbishop of York, as that of Turgot had formerly been, without profession of subjection or obedience to the see of York.

A. C. 1125.  


After the death of his queen, Henry Beauclerc carried on war for some time with various fortune against Louis VI. king of France; but at length, having concluded a peace, he returned safe to England; but whilst his children, Richard, William, and Euphemia, were following him, attended by a numerous suit of the nobility, they were overtaken by a dreadful storm at sea, and unhappily every person on board perished. This lamentable accident so sunk Henry's spirits, that he is said never after to have laughed, nor taken part in any amusement; that his dress was conformable to the sadness of his mind, and that even his court wore an air of gloom and melancholy.



A. C. 1127.

Henry resolved to settle the succession to his crown on his daughter Maud, his only remaining legitimate child. She had been married to the Emperor Henry V. and acquired by that marriage the title of empress; but having born no children to the emperor, she returned, after his death, to her father's court, and was, soon after, married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk count of Anjou. The English clergy, David king of Scotland, and every person of note, swore to maintain this settlement of succession, which was renewed to the empress and heirs of her body at the birth of her eldest son Henry.

The application of David to the improvement of his kingdom in the arts of peace and the works of piety, was disturbed both by some intestine commotions and by war with England.

An insurrection arose in Moray, the particulars of which are not recorded. It, however, was soon quelled by the slaughter of the leader, Angus earl of Moray, with many of his followers, at Strickathrow, in the county of Forfar.

Malcolm  
Macheth.

Another rebel, called Malcolm Macheth,\* and

\* Lord Hailes has collected, from an English historian, a narration of this adventurer, which, for creative imagination, ludicrous incidents, and want of semblance of truth, seems to leave far behind all the marvellous and fabulous stories imputed to Boece. In the first place, this English adventurer, Wimund, assumes a Scottish name, *Malcolm Macheth*, and, from bishop of the isle of Mann, (where very little intercourse with Scot-



A. C. 1135.

who, it would seem, was son-in-law to Summerlede thane or earl of Argyle, falsely pretending to be the son of Angus earl of Moray, collected a party of free-booters, and, under pretence of avenging the slaughter of Strickathrow, pillaged the country, but was taken and imprisoned in the tower of Roxburgh.

Henry I. king of England died; and, notwithstanding the precautions taken by him for the succession of his daughter Matildes or Maud, and her heirs, Stephen earl of Montaigne, (and also of Boulogne, in right of his wife Matildes, niece of King David,) unmindful of his solemn engagements to the Empress Maud, seized the vacant throne, and was crowned king of England three weeks after the death of Henry, whose nephew Stephen was, being the son of Adela, sister to the late king.

Stephen  
seizes the  
English  
crown,

The empress was then in Anjou with her

land existed) comes slap-dash as a gallant suitor to the daughter of the thane of Argyle, and, without understanding a word of the language, passes for a Scotchman, and succeeds in his addresses to the fair, with the consent and approbation of the thane, who is, doubtless, proud of his connection with this right reverend and warlike son-in-law, now also the pretended son, successor, and avenger of the Earl of Moray. Then he is felled by the hatchet, and defeated by the faith of a silly bishop. He, however, gets upon his legs again, and becomes so formidable to Scotland, that the pious King David to get rid of the mischievous marauder, makes him abbot of an abbey where that king has neither temporal nor spiritual jurisdiction. Finally, *Vimund Malcolm Macheth* is so incorrigible, that his subjects, for his insolence, pluck out his *wicked eyes*, and, to preclude the future vengeance of a spiteful race, make him undergo a shameful and violent operation, when it can serve no purpose, as he has already left behind him shoots from this virulent stem. 'Tis all impotent and unavailing infliction. The mongrel hero merrily recounts his achievements, and brags that if he had but the eye of a sparrow, he would make his enemies pay for their wanton cruelty!!!

Agreement  
between  
David and  
Stephen.



A. C. 1136.



husband, who lay grievously ill, and her son was an infant only two years old. David king of Scotland, indignant at Stephen's proceedings, revering his own oath, and determined to support the rights of his niece, immediately marched into England, took possession of the whole country north of Durham, excepting the castle of Bamborough, which he could not reduce. He obliged the barons and principal inhabitants to swear fealty to the empress, and to give hostages for performance of their oath; but Stephen coming with a great army, put a stop to David's progress.

Agreement  
between  
David and  
Stephen.

Stephen continuing fifteen days at Durham, while David's head-quarters were at Newcastle, a treaty was concluded between them. David agreed to restore the places he had seized in Northumberland, together with the hostages. Stephen yielded to Prince Henry the earldom of Huntingdon, the city of Carlisle, and also Doncaster, for which Henry did homage to Stephen, but which David himself refused to do, as being inconsistent with the oath he had taken to the empress. Stephen further engaged not to confer the earldom of Northumberland on any person, until Henry's claim thereto, derived from his mother, should be heard and fairly tried.

Henry, in quality of a principal vassal of



Stephen, attended his court at the ensuing feast of Easter, where he was entertained with much kindness, and placed at table on the king's right hand. But this preference gave so much offence to the archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the English nobles, that they could not forbear insulting Henry in the king's presence, in consequence of which behaviour, David would not suffer his son, though frequently summoned, to return any more to Stephen's court.

A. C. 1136.

David, perceiving that Stephen had only meant to shuffle and amuse by his proposal of a trial of Henry's claim to Northumberland, prepared to seize it by force, now that Stephen had passed over to Normandy; but Thurstin, the aged archbishop of York, repairing to Roxburgh, had a conference with David and his son Henry, and persuaded them to agree to a truce until Stephen's return from Normandy. Stephen, on his return, rejected David's demands, and war immediately ensued.

The castle of Werk lying but a few miles from Roxburgh, David sent his nephew William, the son of Duncan, sometime king of Scotland, with part of his army to invest that fortress. He did so at early dawn. David and his son Henry followed with the rest of the forces. The castle was commanded by Jordan de Brissis, nephew of its lord, the renowned

1137.



A. C. 1138.

War with  
Stephen.

Walter L'Espec. All the efforts of the besiegers were repulsed. Exasperated by their failure, the undisciplined army ravaged Northumberland with a barbarity which their leaders were unable to restrain. David had granted a protection to the abbey of Hexham. The youth of that vicinity rashly assaulted a party of Scottish troops, and slew their leader. Inflamed with resentment, the Scottish soldiers were on the point of destroying the abbey and massacring the inmates: with difficulty William, son of Duncan, appeased their fury. David, regretting to have disturbed the sacred recess, gave his share of the spoils as an atonement for the offence.

To repel the invaders, Stephen, at the head of a numerous army of infantry and cavalry, arrived at Werk about Candlemas. David retired to protect his own territories, and encamped in a place nearly inaccessible, by a flanking marsh, near Roxburgh, in which town he is said to have concealed an ambush of troops to entrap Stephen, expecting that he would follow him thither. But whether Stephen suspected the plot, or preferred another route, he crossed the Tweed at another passage, where, meeting with no resistance, he wasted the eastern borders of Scotland, until scarcity of provisions, more than the pretended delicacy of some of his soldiers to fight in the



holy season of Lent, obliged him to make a hasty retreat to England. A. C. 1138.  
}

Eustace Fitzjohn, a powerful and valiant baron, who held the castles of Alnwick, Malton, and Bamborough, became suspected by Stephen, and was arrested in the last mentioned fortress, which he surrendered to purchase his freedom, and being indignant at the affront, devoted himself to King David.

A revolt of several barons in the south of England obliged Stephen to hasten thither. David, encouraged by that absence, and acting in concert with the Earl of Gloucester, who had openly abandoned Stephen, again broke into Northumberland on the Friday after Easter. Sending his nephew William, with a detachment of Galloway-men, towards the west of Yorkshire, he himself, with the main body, marched along the east coast of Northumberland, which had escaped the ravages of the preceding winter, to the neighbourhood of Durham; his army, as might be supposed, committing many depredations and atrocities as they passed along. Here a seditious mutiny broke out in this disorderly army, which was quashed by a sudden and well-timed alarm spread that the English army was approaching. The Scottish army, with confused murmur, like the sound of jarring winds, retreated to the borders. The king, having skilfully



A. C. 1138.



allayed the mutiny, laid siege to the castle of Norham, which, after a feeble resistance, surrendered. David offered to restore it to the bishop of Durham, on condition that he would abandon Stephen, and swear fealty to the empress ; but the bishop declined the terms, and David demolished the town and fortress.

The courageous William, with his Galwegians, penetrating through the west of Yorkshire, entered Lancashire, encountered and defeated an English army at Clitherow on the 9th of June, made many prisoners, and carried off considerable spoils.

The Scottish king, now openly aided by Eustace Fitzjohn, marched into England, and, in hopes of recovering the castle of Bamborough, hastened towards that place, but could only force a wall that had lately been built before the fortress. Having also renewed the siege of Werk with no better success, he converted the siege into a blockade, which he committed to two of his barons, and advanced into the county of Durham, where he was joined by the men of Galloway, Cumberland, and Carlisle, so that the Scottish army now exceeded twenty-six thousand men.

Stephen, being pressed in the south of England, could only send, to the aid of his northern friends, a body of cavalry, commanded by Bernard de Baliol, a Yorkshire baron. Thur-



stin, the archbishop, held an assembly at York; called in the aid of religion to prepare and to animate the barons, and all the inhabitants of the north of England, to fight for their country and all that they held dear therein. Fasting, prayer, the receiving of the sacraments, and all exercises deemed useful to appease the Deity and draw down his protection, as well as to prepare for death those who should fall in the meritorious conflict, were employed. That no shadow of blame might overhang them, they sent Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Baliol to the Scottish monarch with proposals of peace, and a promise to procure the earldom of Northumberland for Prince Henry as a condition thereof; but David had taken up arms not solely on his own account, but also in support of the right of his niece, the empress: and, besides, it would have been difficult now to have restrained the impetuosity of his barons and of his army. Bruce, in parting, haughtily renounced the fealty he had once sworn to David.

The aged Archbishop Thurstin, unable to attend the English army himself, sent, as his vicegerent, the titular bishop of Orkney, who was then with him. He himself having received the confession of the barons, and their declarations of contrition, gave them absolution, and, together with his blessing, put into

A. C. 1138.

The Stan-  
dard.Battle of  
the Stan-  
dard.



A. C. 1138.



their hands his crosier and metropolitan banner.

The rendezvous was at Thirsk. Thither repaired William earl of Albemarle, and all persons of eminence. Roger de Moubray, the infant Earl of Northumberland, was conducted to the assembly. His presence drew around him all his vassals, no inconsiderable part of the English army. Walter L'Espece, a judicious and experienced warrior, was, by unanimous consent, appointed commander in chief.

The Standard.

On Cutton moor, near Northallerton, the English standard was erected. It was a pole tall as the mast of a ship, fitted into a high four-wheeled carriage. On the summit of the pole was a cross containing a consecrated host inclosed in a silver pixis. Below waved the banners of St Peter of York, of St John of Beverley, and of St Wilfred of Rippon.

David endeavoured to surprise the English army. Under the concealment of a thick mist he approached without discovery. The alarm arose. To gain time, Robert de Bruce was again despatched to the King of Scots, to endeavour, if possible, to bring about an adjustment without bloodshed. Bruce was eloquent. He urged the king's own interest by securing the friendship of barons more to be depended on than many of his own rebellious subjects. He charged his conscience with the shedding



of innocent blood ; the danger of pushing brave men to despair : finally, bursting into tears, he declared his heart was wrung to think of being necessitated to raise his arm against his dear master and patron, by whose side he used to fight, with whom he had spent the season of youth and the hours of festivity, and to see his benefactor and friend now exposed to the dangers of war or the dishonour of flight.

A. C. 1158.



The king also wept, but his army was impatient to engage ; a fierce emulation of valour inflamed the various bands of his soldiers. "Thou art a false traitor, Bruce," exclaimed William the son of Duncan. Bruce, at parting, again renounced his homage to the Scottish king.

The Gallovidians claimed, as their right, to fight in the van. Elated with their easy victory at Clitherow, they overvalued their prowess. David and his best officers perceived their unfitness for that station, on account of their wanting heavy armour, such as was borne by those who stood in the first rank of the English army ; but the king, fearing sedition at this important moment, was obliged to grant the Galwegians their request. Ulgeric and Donald were their leaders. The second line, consisting of the men at arms, the archers, and the men of Cumberland and Teviotdale, was led by the intrepid and endearing Prince

Battle of  
the Stan-  
dard.



A. C. 1138.

Henry, aided by Eustace Fitzjohn. The third division was composed of the troops of Lothian with the islanders and volunteers. The king himself commanded the reserve, composed of selected Scotch and Moray-men. His body-guard was a band of English and French knights.

The enemy formed one compact body, having *the standard* in the centre. The men at arms dismounted, turning their horses to the rear, and mingled with the archers in the front of the battle. The titular\* bishop of Orkney exhorted, encouraged, and blessed the troops. The aged General Walter l'Espece harangued his army from the standard, and vowed that day to conquer or die: So swear we all! exclaimed the surrounding barons.

The Gallovidians, with shouts of fury, rushed upon the foe. The shock was tremendous, and continued for two hours with obstinate valour. The English spearmen were nearly broken; but the archers supported their countrymen, and galled the foe with incessant showers of deadly arrows. Ulric and Donald fell. Upon the death of their chieftains, the troops of the front line were thrown into disorder. Prince Henry charged at the head of the cavalry,

\* Lord Hailes, with great probability, conjectures that this bishop Ralph Nowel had been nominated and consecrated bishop of the Orkneys by the archbishop of York, but that the diocese would not receive a bishop nominated by that authority. He had therefore remained as a kind of co-adjutor of the archbishop.



pierced through the English squadron, and scattered the troops which guarded the horses in the rear. The Gallovidians, rallying, followed his course, and pressed the enemy ; but, in that momentous crisis, when victory seemed ready to declare for the Scottish army, an English soldier cutting off the head of one of the slain, raised it aloft, and shouted aloud, "*The head of the king of the Scotch.*" The report reanimated the English, and spread dismay through the Scottish army. The Gallovidians cast away their arms. The third line fled without assaulting the foe. The king attempting to stop the panic, leapt from his horse, and brought up the reserve. It was too late ; the battle was irrecoverably lost. The nobles compelled the king to retreat. The fugitive army, however, rallied round the royal ensign, and checked the pursuit of the conquerors. This memorable battle of the *Standard* was fought on the 22d day of August 1138.

A. C. 1138.

David reached Carlisle with the remains of his army. The inhabitants of the country, exasperated by the recent cruelties of the Scottish army, and seizing the hour of revenge, massacred the stragglers in their retreat. Prince Henry, on the third day after the battle, narrowly escaped from the pursuit of his enemies, joined his father at Carlisle, who had been in



A. C. 1138.



extreme anxiety for his safety. Tumult, mutiny, and dissension reigned in the Scottish camp. Irritated at the loss of honour, they mutually received and retaliated reproach. Great is the power and influence of a virtuous man on such occasions.

David exerted his wisdom, and interposed his authority: he soothed the tumultuous, and punished the offenders: he led them from mutual recriminations of the past to generous resolutions for the future: he bound them by oaths and hostages “never to desert him in war;” and lest inactivity might produce a relapse into mutiny, he led them promptly to the siege of Werk castle.

Alberic,  
the pope's  
legate, in-  
terposes.

Alberic, bishop of Ostia, legate *a latere* from Pope Innocent II., in the genuine reconciling spirit of Christianity, threw himself at the feet of the Scottish king, and besought him to listen to terms of accommodation with England. David consented to suspend hostilities, except against the castle of Werk, until the ensuing Martinmas. The legate also prevailed with the Galwegians to bring back to Carlisle and set free, before the expiration of said truce, all the women whom they had made captives in their late inroads. He also obtained a solemn engagement from the whole Scottish army that, in future incursions, they would abstain from violating the churches, and



would spare such as from their age or sex were incapable of resistance.

A. C. 1138.



Peace is  
concluded.

David had granted a protection to the territories of the priory of Hexham. A party of Scottish freebooters had plundered some villages belonging to that establishment: the prior came to seek redress from the king, which was readily granted. The castle of Werk was reduced by famine. Due honours were bestowed on the gallant defenders. The fortress was demolished,—and David returned to Scotland more like a conqueror than one whose army had been routed.

Through the mediation of Matildes, the wife of Stephen and niece of David, a peace was concluded, at Durham, between these two kings, equitable in itself and useful to both parties. By this treaty, Stephen yielded to Henry, besides what he already possessed in England, the whole earldom of Northumberland, excepting the fortresses of Newcastle and Bamborough, which Stephen was to retain; but as an equivalent for these, Prince Henry was to receive lands in the south of England. He allowed the barons who held their lands of the earldom of Northumberland to hold them of Prince Henry, saving fealty to the English king. It was also provided, that the laws established in Northumberland should be inviolably preserved.

1139.



A. C. 1139

Peace is  
concluded.

David and his son, with all the people of Scotland, became bound to maintain perfect amity with Stephen. For that purpose five hostages, sons of the chief of the Scottish nobility, were delivered to the English on the 9th April 1139.

Prince Henry waited on King Stephen at Nottingham, and ratified the treaty. He also accompanied his sovereign lord to the siege of Ludlow castle, where, hazarding his person, he was unhorsed, and in imminent danger; but Stephen gallantly rescued him. Returning from the siege of Ludlow, Henry married Ada, the daughter of the Earl of Warrenne and Surrey, a lady of noble blood, and nearly related to the principal persons at the English court.

The grant of the castle of Carlisle, which Stephen had in 1136 made to Henry, offended the Earl of Chester, who had pretensions to that castle and the adjacent territory. He attempted, with an armed force, to intercept Prince Henry and his spouse on their journey to Scotland, but was prevented by the friendly precautions of Stephen. Enraged at the disappointment, the Earl of Chester seized the castle of Lincoln. A seeming reconciliation took place between the king and the earl; yet the king learning that the castle was weakly guarded, unexpectedly attacked it; but Ches-



ter, escaping from the castle, assembled a force, and being joined by the Earl of Gloucester, encountered Stephen, routed his troops, and made himself prisoner at Lincoln, 2d February 1141.

A. C. 1141.

Matildes, the empress, now triumphed. Her uncle, the Scottish king, repaired to her court, not as a feudatory or confederate, but as a friend and affectionate counsellor, for which he was eminently qualified. But the empress despised his counsels. Irritated by her imperious demeanour, the citizens of London, who had acknowledged her as their queen, rose in arms against her. She fled, and her uncle was the companion of her flight, and but for the fidelity of a godson, David Oliphant, who, at his own hazard, conveyed the monarch safe to Scotland, he had fallen into the hands of enraged enemies. David, for a time, relinquished all concern in the affairs of England, and turned his thoughts to the civilization and improvement of his kingdom.

During the wise reign of David, public buildings were erected, agriculture improved, regular civil communities were established for carrying on commerce and manufactures. Incorporations, by royal charters, in cities and burghs, were formed. Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were probably the first of those communities in Scotland.

Corporations.



A. C. 1141.

 Bishopricks  
erected by  
David.

King David erected four new bishopricks, viz. 1. Ross,—the title of the bishop was Rosemarkiensis ; 2. He converted into a cathedral church the ancient monastery of Culdees at Dunkeld, which had been dedicated to St Columba ; 3. Dunblane, towards the end of his reign ; 4. Brechin, (where there had been formerly an abbey or convent of Culdees.) The king, towards the end of his reign, founded and richly endowed that church for an Episcopal see. The Culdees continued long the dean and chapter for the election of the bishop. David translated the see of Murtlach, or rather Mortlach, to Old Aberdeen, and liberally augmented its revenues.

Mortlach.

Religious  
Houses.

Kelso.

In the reign of his brother Alexander (1113,) he brought a colony of Benedictine monks from Tyrone in France, and settled them at Selkirk ; translated them afterwards to the neighbourhood of Marchmont or Roxburgh, and erected an abbey at Kelso for their reception, (1128.) They still kept possession of the churches where they had been ; they had also many other parish churches. By a bull of Pope Alexander III. the abbot was allowed to wear a mitre, and to be present at general councils. The priory of Lesmahago, founded 1144, depended on the abbey of Kelso. It was dedicated to St Machut.



David founded an abbey for canons-regular at the east end of the city of Edinburgh, in the county of Mid-Lothian, in the same year, (1128,) dedicated to the *Holy Cross*. The canons were brought from St Andrews. The place is still called Holyroodhouse.

A. C. 1144.

Holyrood-  
house.

The cells depending on Holyroodhouse were,  
1. St Mary's isle, near Kirkcudbright, in Galloway, and called *Prioratus Sanctæ Mariæ de Trayle*. The prior hereof was a lord and member of Parliament.

2. Blantyre, in Clydesdale, founded before 1296.

3. Rowadil, in the isle of Harris. 4. Crusay, in the Western isles, founded by St Columba.

5. Oronsay, one of the Western isles in Argyleshire, founded also by St Columba. It gives the title of Lord to the Earl of Isla.

Melrose, in the shire of Teviotdale, situate upon the river Tweed, had been an old monastery in the time of the Saxons, mentioned by Bede in the year 664. Here King David laid the foundation of a new abbey (1136,) which he bestowed upon the Cistertians, whom he brought from Rievall in Yorkshire. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, as all other houses of this order were.

Melrose.

Another abbey of Cistertians was founded by the same monarch at Kynloss, or rather Kean-

Kinloss.



A. C. 1141.

Newbottle.

Dryburgh.

Jedburgh.

Military  
orders.

loch, (1150.) The first abbot, Ascelinus, together with the monks, was brought from Melrose.

He founded an abbey of Cisterians at Newbottle, upon South-Esk, Mid-Lothian, (1140.) The monks hereof, together with their abbot, Radulphus, were brought from Melrose.

Dryburgh, an abbey of the Premonstratenses, a little below Melrose, in Teviotdale, near the junction of the Tweed and Ledar, was founded by David, (1150;) perhaps completed by Hugh de Moreville and Beatrix de Beauchamp his lady. It had the patronage of several churches. There is a chartulary of this abbey in the Advocates' Library.

Jedburgh, formerly Geddwor, an abbey of canons-regular, situated on the west side of the river Jed, near its confluence with the Teviot, was founded by King David. The exact date is unknown. Two cells, or priories, belonged to it, viz. Restennot in Angus—here the papers and other precious things of the abbey of Jedburgh were kept—and Canonby, situated upon the river Esk in Roxburghshire. This monastery was frequently overturned and burnt during the inroads of the English. The canons were often obliged to abandon it. King David is said to have introduced into Scotland the Knights Templars. He founded for them an establishment called *Temple*, near the river South-Esk, in Mid-Lothian. This order had



many residences and estates in Scotland, namely, Balantradoch, near the South-Esk ; Aboyne, Aberdeenshire ; Maryculter, Kincardineshire ; Oggerston, Stirlingshire, founded also by King David ; St Germans, in East-Lothian ; Tulloch, Aberdeenshire ; Inchynan, Renfrew. That order being suppressed in 1312, their property was given to the knights of St John of Jerusalem, or knights of Malta. For the knights of St John, King David founded a residence at Torphichen in Linlithgowshire. There have been several considerable persons preceptors of Torphichen.

A. C. 1141.

David also founded a convent of Cistercian nuns at Berwick, and endowed it with considerable revenues. It had, likewise, two priories depending on it, namely, Trefountain, or Three fountains, in Lammermuir, and Golyn, or Gulane, on the Frith of Forth, in the shire of Haddington.

Cistercian  
nuns.

Converting the monastery of Dunfermline into an abbey, he annexed to it the priory of Urquhart in Morayshire. The monastery of Holme, or Holmecultram, in Cumberland, was founded by his son Prince Henry, (1150.) Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, father to our Robert I. was buried there.

Dunferm-  
line abbey.

Cambuskenneth, an abbey of canons-regular, near Stirling, in Clackmannanshire, was found-

Cambus-  
enneth.



A. C. 1411.

Dundren-  
nan.

ed by King David, (1147.) The canons were brought from *Aroise*, near Arras, in Flanders.

Dundrennan, an abbey about two miles from Kirkcudbright, in David's reign, (1142,) was founded by Fergus lord of Galloway. The monks of the Cistercian order were brought from Rievall in England. Sylvanus was its first abbot. Its last abbot was Edward Maxwell, son to John Lord Herries, after whose death King James VI. annexed this abbacy to his royal chapel of Stirling.

The learned and philosophical Lord Hailes observes, that " We ought to judge of the " conduct of men according to the notions " of *their* age, not of *ours*. To endow mo- " nasteries may now be considered as a prodi- " gal superstition ; but in the days of David I. " it was esteemed an act of pious beneficence.

" Much may be urged in justification of this " beneficence. Although David was the foun- " der of many monasteries, it was not he alone " who endowed them. An ample accession to " their revenues was obtained in succeeding " ages by the donations of private men as well " as of princes.

" In monasteries the lamp of knowledge " continued to burn, however dimly. In them " men of business were formed for the state ; " the art of writing was cultivated by the



“ monks ; they were the only proficient in  
 “ mechanics, gardening, and architecture.

A. C. 1149.

“ When we examine the sites of ancient  
 “ monasteries, we are sometimes inclined to  
 “ say with the vulgar, ‘ that the clergy in for-  
 “ mer times always chose the best of the land  
 “ and the most commodious habitations ;’ but  
 “ we do not advert, that the religious houses  
 “ were frequently erected on waste grounds af-  
 “ terwards improved by the art and industry of  
 “ the clergy, who alone had art and industry.”

Henry, the eldest son of the Empress Maud, and acknowledged, by the powerful party in her interest, as heir to the English throne, now sixteen years of age, was sent over from France by his father, Geoffrey Plantagenet, to be initiated in the order of knighthood by his grand-uncle, the Scottish king, as being the most respected as well as the most chivalrous sovereign in Europe. This young prince having landed in England, was escorted to Carlisle by the great barons of the west, who were all strongly attached to him. The ceremony of knighthood was there performed with great pomp, in the presence of a numerous assemblage of the grandees of both nations; and Henry did at the same time swear, that, on his ascending the English throne, he would confirm to David and his heirs the possession of the territories which he and his son then

Henry II.  
 knighted by  
 David.



A. C. 1149.



held in England. Henry having continued eight months at David's court, improving himself in the arts of war and peace, returned by sea to Normandy.

The good King David had his share of calamity. His virtuous queen Matildes had died in the seventh year of his reign, and he ever after lived in celibacy and untarnished chastity. Now his only son Henry, amidst the prospect of happiness and grandeur, and in the flower of his age, when he seemed entitled to say with the sage, "I shall govern thy people justly, and shall be worthy of the throne of my father,"—was carried off by relentless death, to the anguish of a loving father and tender spouse, the loss of a young family, and to the grief and disappointment of England as well as Scotland: for he was a prince of such amiable dispositions, and of such signal and eminent virtues, that nations, states, and all degrees, looked forward to his hoped-for reign with pleasure, and every one now lamented, not only the public loss, but seemed also to bewail his own private misfortune. The king's distress was aggravated by the tender age of his grandchildren, the restless spirit and boundless ambition of Stephen, and even by the aspiring genius, haughty and ferocious temper, which he had observed in young Henry, added to the natural impetuosity of youth.

*Wisdom,*  
ix. 12.  
Death of  
Prince  
Henry.

Henry II.  
knighted by  
David.



Meanwhile the remains of Prince Henry were interred in the abbey of Kelso with all the piety and splendour which his religion and rank required, and in which the hearts of a loving people spontaneously joined. He died 12th June 1152. A. C. 1152.

David's friends, and almost all the nobility\* and barons in Scotland, who loved and revered their king as their father, flocked to his court to condole with him, and to afford him all the consolation they could in his severe trial. He received them most graciously, and invited them to a sumptuous banquet; after which he addressed them in the following manner:

“My Lords and Barons,—The fidelity and attachment which you have ever shewn me require a fuller expression of my obligations to you than the present occasion admits of. Permit me, gratefully, and briefly, in my own name, and in that of my dear deceased son, to acknowledge, and thank you for, the attention, the trouble, the kindness, and love of your present visit.

“But, my Lords and Barons, my dear parents, who, I trust, are now reaping the fruits of their piety in the regions of peace and uninterrupted tranquillity, taught me, from my tender years, to believe, and to fix in my mind,

\* David had conferred on William, the son of Duncan, the honours of Skipton and Craven, and, with an armed force, put him in possession thereof.



A. C. 1152.



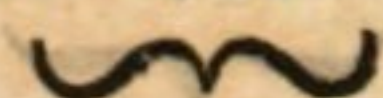
that the Supreme Lord of the universe, with sovereign wisdom disposes of all events, and in all that he ordains or permits has the wisest ends in view ; and that, although *his judgments be incomprehensible, and his ways unsearchable*, yet, we are assured, that *all things work together for good to those who love him* ; and that, therefore, we ought ever to adore him in all his dispensations—to receive the prosperous with gratitude and humility, the adverse with fortitude and submission.

“That my heart might not cleave to the transient goods of this life, I have received many salutary lessons in the school of adversity. I have seen a father, dearer to me than the light, fall a victim to death, nor could the love and tears of a disconsolate people alter his doom. My mother (of whose virtues I say nothing, they are sufficiently known,) paid the same willing tribute. My brothers, so endearing, and to whom I was so endeared,—my spouse, whom, of all earthly objects I the most loved and cherished, have been taken from me by death, which now, to execute the decrees of its sovereign, hath sent before me that beloved son, who, I ought to rejoice, was such as to merit your affection when alive and your regret when deceased. I ought to be grateful for the loan, nor murmur when the Almighty recalls his own. The separation, I hope, will



not be long from him, and from all my friends who expect me in those abodes of bliss, where we shall part no more.

A. C. 1152.



“Let us, then, my dear friends, so live that, when the time shall come that our souls are to be set free from their earthly prisons, they may join the true servants of God in a happy immortality.”

With this speech, and thanks to the Almighty for all his blessings, the banquet ended, and all went off with heightened veneration of their magnanimous king, and increased regret for the loss which they and their children had sustained by the death of Prince Henry.

The children of that prince, by his wife Ada, were, Malcolm, born 1142; William, born 1143; David, born 1144; Adda or Elda, married in 1161, to Florence count of Holland; Margaret, married 1160, to Conan, fourth duke of Brittany; Matildes, who died unmarried.

King David caused his grandchildren to be brought to him, and to be educated in the discipline of his court, which Buchanan acknowledges to have been most pure, (*quæ tum erat sanctissima.*) For though the courts of princes are seldom models of virtue, yet here no unbecoming word was heard; no lascivious leer beheld; no gluttony, ebriety, or intemperance; no vicious domestic admitted; no discord or quarrel: every thing breathed harmony, virtue



A. C. 1133.

Fealty  
sworn to  
Malcolm as  
heir to the  
crown.

sanctity. Such is the force of example, especially in the ruler of a realm.

The king presented Malcolm, his eldest grandson, to Macduff earl of Fife, who conducted the young prince round amongst the nobles, and caused them to swear fealty to him as the undoubted heir of the crown. William, his second grandson, he declared Earl of Northumberland, and put him in possession of it, requiring a promise of obedience from the barons, with hostages for its performance.

He made David, the youngest, Earl of Huntingdon in England, and Earl of Garrioch in Scotland. He was the more eager to have all this settled, as he found himself attacked by an illness, which he expected would, ere long, put a period to his life.

Having settled all the affairs in the interior of his kingdom, he removed to Carlisle after Easter. On the 20th May, finding his end fast approaching, he informed his friends thereof, and paying no attention to their hopes and promises of protracted life, he renewed his last will, and briefly finished all his temporal concerns. On the 22d, finding his malady increasing, and his strength entirely exhausted, he expressed his desire of receiving the rites of the church; but thinking himself unworthy that the holy sacrament should be brought to him, caused himself to be carried into his



oratory by his chaplains and guards; and after mass, having previously confessed his sins with exuberant tears, he took into his hands and venerated the *black cross*;\* then received, with fervent devotion, the holy eucharist. Having spent some time in ardent praise and thanksgiving, he was carried back to his chamber; and causing his chaplains to recite leisurely the prayers of the last unction, received that rite, making himself the responses. On the 24th, which was the Sunday before Ascension, at early dawn, while he was still intent on his devotions, with his hands joined before his breast, and raised to heaven, he breathed his last, with such quiet composure that his death was not immediately perceived. He reigned twenty-nine years, two months, and three days.

A. C. 1153.

The remains of this memorable king were interred in the sepulchre of his parents at Dunfermline, and a new monument was erected to

\* This cross was brought into Scotland by St Margaret, and is probably the same which she bestowed upon the church of Dunfermline, already mentioned. It seems to have obtained the title of the black cross from the case in which it was inclosed. The cross was of the purest gold, of exquisite workmanship, about a span in length, with a portion of the true cross indented in it. The statue on it was of ivory, of dexterous sculpture, enamelled with gold, and studded with rich diamonds. The veneration of the cross is referred to him who died on a cross for the salvation of mankind. The cross is the sign of the *Son of Man*; the sign of a Christian: it was the glory of St Paul. We can hardly suppose that Elisha would throw away his master's mantle which had opened a passage for him through the Jordan, or that the handkerchiefs and aprons which, after touching the body of St Paul, cured diseases and cast out evil spirits, would be discarded as superstitious trumpery. How much less should we vilify the sign and instrument of our salvation?



A. C. 1153.

his memory ; but his virtues had erected to him a statue more durable than brass or marble.

Though the solicitude of David for the improvement and happiness of his subjects extended to all ranks, the poor seemed to be his peculiar care, and his liberality to them was boundless. On certain days he sat at his palace gate to hear and to decide their causes. He united undaunted valour and high military talents with exquisitely tender feelings of humanity and compassion,—insomuch that a sense of justice, duty, and order had to struggle with his strong emotions of sympathy at the condemnation of the most atrocious criminals. His recreations were manly, rational, and sparing, and he never suffered them to encroach on the hours of business or devotion. When hunting, he would quit his horse, and dismiss his equipage, to give audience to the meanest of his subjects. He sometimes, for amusement, and to set example to others, employed himself in gardening, and in planting or ingrafting trees. At sunset, he dismissed all his attendants, and retired to meditate on his duty to God and to his people. At day-break he resumed his devotions and his labours.

Buchanan, though not esteemed too favourable to kings, and certainly not too indulgent



to the religion of this king, yet gives him a character which no panegyric could excel. He says, that, though his whole life was such as history affords nothing similar, yet, in his latter years, he so prepared himself for his exit as greatly to increase the veneration of all. In military skill and talents he yielded to none of his predecessors, and in the art of governing during peace he excelled them all. Having now no rival to stimulate his advancement in virtue, he strove to surpass himself;\* and such was his proficiency, that the brightest geniuses and most learned writers who have exerted themselves to draw the portrait of a good king, have never been able to devise so finished an exemplar as the living model which he exhibited during the whole course of his life.

A. C. 1153.

The liberality of David to ecclesiastics, and especially to religious orders, has been severely censured in later times. We may remark, in general, that the tide of zeal, at that time, run greatly upon building monasteries, as it does now a-days upon supporting Bible societies. Perhaps the former may have overflowed the bounds of discretion, and the later the limits of good sense and solid devotion. Be that as it may, a few observations upon the monastic

\* In eoque tantum profecit, ut summo ingenio homines doctissimi, qui boni regis imaginem exprimere contenderunt, talem non potuerint animo cogitare qualem se David toto vitæ cursu prestitit. — *Buch.* lib. vii. p. 122.



state may not be unacceptable to many of my readers.

The title of monk is derived from the Greek *μοναχος*, solitary. It was employed first to signify persons who retired to the desarts and lived estranged from intercourse with the world. It now means religious persons who have engaged themselves by vow to live according to a certain rule, in order to attain the perfection recommended by the gospel.

Whoever is the least acquainted with the spirit of the gospel knows that our Saviour counselled, as means of perfection, entire continence, Matt. xix. 12. and voluntary poverty, ibid, v. 21. There were, in the early ages of Christianity, persons who, retiring from the noise of the world, gave themselves up entirely to prayer, fasting, and other penitential austerities and exercises. They were called *Ascetics*. They pleaded the example of Christ, who passed forty days in the desert in prayer and fasting, and often retired into solitary places: and that he praised the solitary and rigorous life of John the Baptist, Matt. xi. 7, &c.; that St Paul also highly eulogized the prophets who wandered in desarts, in mountains, &c. Heb. xi. 38.

During the severe persecutions of the Christians by the Roman emperors, many fled to the desarts of Egypt for safety: there they con-



tracted the habit and relish of solitude, and remained in, or returned to it. St Paul the Hermit lived in that retirement to the age of one hundred and thirteen, fed by the fruit, and clothed by the foliage, of a palm-tree which covered the entrance of his grotto. St Anthony and his disciples lived in separate cells at a little distance from one another. St Pacomius collected the monks into little communities, or monasteries, consisting of thirty or forty individuals. Hence the distinction of *Cenobites* and hermits. All these contiguous monasteries acknowledged for their superior one abbot. They assembled together to celebrate the feast of Easter. These monks multiplied exceedingly. In the desarts of Egypt, they are said to have amounted to fifty thousand persons.

Nobody disputed their possessions, which were sandy desarts or barren mountains. Their cells were built of reeds, or such like slender materials. The hermits lived upon dates and certain roots. The *Cenobites* made baskets and matts of palm-tree leaves, by which they gained their scanty maintenance, which did not exceed a Roman pound, that is, twelve ounces of bread *per diem*, which they took on ordinary days, in two small repasts, the one at noon, the other at night. On fasting days they did not eat until *none*, three o'clock. Their drink was water. They indeed fasted



almost all the year round except the Sundays and the paschal time. They wore no hair-shirts, nor iron-chains, or girdles. Their austerity consisted in a constant and uniform practice of an abstemious and regular life. The blowing of a horn assembled them to prayer at the hour of matins and in the evening. At each time they recited twelve psalms, adding a prayer after each, and adjoining at the end two lessons from the scripture. Twelve of the brethren by turns sang a psalm standing in the midst of the assembly, while the others sat and listened in profound silence. The sun and stars, which in that climate were alternately visible, regulated their hours of prayer, of labour, and rest. The greater part of the day they spent in their private cells, working and praying at the same time. They occasionally visited one another, and were mutually edified and entertained by their pious conversation. Their devotion, like the Egyptian pyramids, was grand, simple, and solid.

About the year 306, St Hilarion established in Palestine monasteries similar to those of Egypt. The monastic life was soon introduced into Syria, Armenia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and throughout the East. The learned and eloquent St Basil, who admired and imitated that kind of life, composed a rule for the monks, which was so much approved of and esteemed



that it was universally adopted, and is still observed by the Oriental monks.

A. C. 1153.

The erudite Assemani informs us, that the monks, who settled in Mesopotamia and Persia, were so many apostles and missionaries, and that many of them were made bishops.

About the year 340, St Athanasius wrote and brought into Italy the life of St Anthony, and inspired the Italians with a desire of forming establishments similar to those of that holy abbot.

Near the end of the fourth century the monastic institute was introduced into Gaul by St Martin bishop of Tours, who himself made profession of it. About the same epoch, Honoratus, archbishop of Arles, founded, on the Oriental model, the celebrated monastery of Lerins, situated in an island of the Mediterranean on the coast of France, now called from that bishop St Honorat.

It was only in the beginning of the sixth century that St Benedict composed his rule for the monks whom he had collected upon Mount Cassino, which rule was soon adopted by all the monks in the West. It was much less rigid than that of St Basil: it being presumed that the difference of climate did not admit of so austere a regimen as that prescribed to the Orientals.

In many churches there were formed com-



munities of the clergy, who led a life similar to that of the monks, in as far as the functions of their ministry permitted. St Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, in Piedmont, seems to be the first who adopted this plan. The example was followed by St Augustine; the institute assumed the title of *regular* canons of St Austin. St Chrodegang, bishop of Metz, about the middle of the seventh age, drew up a rule received by these canons as that of St Benedict was by the monks.

Hence there arose two kinds of regulars or religious. The one consisted of clergy and the other of laics, for the monks then were generally such. The object of the latter was to labour chiefly for their salvation, either to preserve their innocence or to atone for their past sins by worthy fruits of penance: The former lived in community, and imitated the monastic exercises to guard against temptations to which they were exposed in the active labours of the ministry, and in their intercourse with worldly persons.

In the sixth age, St Augustine, monk, and his companions, brought the monastic state to England, and converted that nation for the second time to Christianity; they also, by their missionaries, converted a considerable portion of the northern countries of Europe.

When the barbarous nations broke in upon the



Western empire, they pillaged the churches, and everywhere spread desolation. The pastors of the church were dispersed,—the monasteries were also plundered,—but the monks erected new establishments on rugged mountains, in deep forests, and remote vallies. The people, deprived of their pastors, could only receive the helps and ordinances of religion from the monks, who had received holy orders. The sufferers received, from these, religious consolation and an asylum in their distress: even the barbarians respected them. That respect checked the pillage of the invaders and softened their ferocity. The virtues of many of the abbots drew upon them and their monasteries the esteem of princes, kings, and emperors, who bestowed upon them great donations. Even the feudal lords, who had often pillaged the churches, from remorse, made restitution to those who supplied the place of the clergy. They became rich. To defend their lands and property against the licentious hostilities of the times, the abbots were in a manner necessitated to arm their vassals, and to march at their head to repel their invaders. They were admitted into the parliaments as well as the bishops. They took part in the civil wars like the temporal lords. Great relaxation and ignorance followed. St Bernard and others, in the eleventh century, did much to restore the



primitive observances, particularly manual labour.

But when manual labour was not necessary for their maintenance, it was neglected. The institution of lay-brothers, first introduced by St John Gualbertus in Vallombrosa, 1040, lightened the other monks (who were then mostly in, or intended for, holy orders) of the necessary service and labour within the monastery. These betook themselves to study, which had the good effect of preserving the Scriptures, the writings of the fathers, and the ancient classics, which they continually copied; but they often applied to studies foreign to their vocation. They began them by charity,—they oft-times continued them through interest.

In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, religious orders were greatly multiplied. The council of Lateran, 1215, forbade new religious orders; but that decree was ill observed. It was a misfortune. St Basil disapproved of having two religious communities in one place. “It is difficult (said he) to procure one good superior; it would be still more difficult to find two.” Multiplication of orders is a source of division. At first there may be a laudable emulation amongst them; but emulation will degenerate into jealousy, contempt, aversion: such is the natural proclivity of corrupt nature. The heathens made



it a fundamental principle of policy, that the commonwealth should be one as far as possible, and that every seed of division amongst the citizens should be avoided. Still more should every occasion of disunion be guarded against in the church of Christ. The members ought all to conspire to the good and comfort of one another.

The mendicant orders were a kind of disgrace to the clerical body. It was indeed indecorous to see so many persons in holy orders so vilify that dignity. Those pious men did much good by their preachings and instructions of the people; I willingly allow it; and that there have been amongst them many learned and pious men: but it would have been much better and more becoming, if the popes and bishops had applied themselves seriously to reform the secular clergy, and to ordain a sufficient number for the service of the church and the care of the people, than the calling in such auxiliaries.

It must, I think, be acknowledged, upon the whole, that the monastic institute was good in itself, since it was the Gospel itself exactly observed; and even after its relaxation, it rendered essential service both to the church and state, although it oft-times caused disputes and confusion, and though the monks did not always live up to their vocation and



rule. The scandal of one bad monk has made more noise than the edification of one hundred good ones.

A celebrated free-thinking philosopher says,  
“ It was long a consolation for humankind,  
“ that there were asylums from the oppression  
“ of the Goth and Vandal government. In the  
“ calm of the cloister, they escaped the grasp  
“ of tyranny, and the dangers of war. The little  
“ knowledge that had escaped the ravages of  
“ barbarians was preserved in monasteries. From  
“ these issued useful inventions. The religious  
“ cultivated the soil, sung the divine praises, liv-  
“ ed soberly, were hospitable, and their example  
“ somewhat softened the barbarous ferocity of  
“ these times. It has been regretted that riches  
“ corrupted what virtue had instituted. It can-  
“ not be denied that eminent virtues have been  
“ practised in the cloister. There is scarcely a  
“ monastery but has had inmates who have done  
“ honour to human nature. Too many writers  
“ have ransacked and sifted to find out disorders  
“ committed within those asylums of piety. It  
“ is certain that secular life has always been more  
“ vicious, and that the greatest crimes have not  
“ been committed in the monasteries, but have  
“ been more remarked on account of the contrast  
“ with their rule. No state has been always  
“ pure. We ought only to consider the general  
“ good of society. The small number of con-



“vents did, at first, much good. The too great  
“number has lessened their esteem.”\*

The institutions consecrated to the succour of the poor, and the service of the sick, though less brilliant, are not less respectable. There is, perhaps, nothing more exalted on earth than the sacrifice made by a delicate sex, of youth and beauty, and even of high birth, to solace, in the hospitals, that collection of human miseries, the sight of which is so humbling to human pride, and so disgusting to our delicacy. The peoples separated from the Catholic communion have but imperfectly imitated so generous a charity. There is yet another order still more heroic—that epithet is deservedly applied to the Trinitarians—for the redemption of captives. Those religious have devoted themselves, for more than five ages, to burst the chains of Christians detained under the slavery of the Moors: they employ, for their ransom, both their own funds and the alms which they solicit, and carry themselves these sums into Africa for that noble and charitable purpose. We should with an ill grace complain of such institutions.

A judicious Protestant writer has weighed this subject better than most of our political critics. “Those labours” (says he) “which

\* *Essais sur l'Histoire Gen.* t. iv. c. 155.



“ require time and pains are always better ex-  
“ ecuted by men acting in concert than by  
“ particular persons. There is more judgment  
“ in the plan, and more steadiness in the exe-  
“ cution of it ; greater power to surmount ob-  
“ stacles and difficulties, and better manage-  
“ ment. There are enterprises which cannot  
“ be executed but by a body or a society living  
“ under the same rule. Experience shews that  
“ societies merely civil are apt to be negligent,  
“ and, when these negligences are perceived,  
“ they produce uneasiness, bustle, and perpe-  
“ tual changes of their plans ; but there is an-  
“ other kind of societies where every thing is  
“ reduced to a common interest, and in which  
“ the rules are better observed : these are reli-  
“ gious societies; and hence they have succeed-  
“ ed better than others in their undertakings.  
“ Without exactness in observing a rule, the  
“ greatest resources are ineffectual: their re-  
“ sults diverge as it were, and do not tend to  
“ a common good. From religious societies  
“ lessons may be learnt highly useful to society  
“ in general, and I cannot help deeming such  
“ societies a real good. If we ascend to the  
“ origin of most monasteries, we shall proba-  
“ bably discover, that their first inhabitants  
“ brought into culture swamps, forests, or rug-  
“ ged and unproductive lands ; that to those  
“ men, and to the good management of their



“ successors, the convents are indebted for the  
“ greatest part of what they enjoy. And why  
“ should they not enjoy it? If these posses-  
“ sions belonged to a lord or a squire, they  
“ would excite no murmur and provoke no sa-  
“ tire. Why should it not be the same in regard  
“ of convents? For my own part, I view those  
“ establishments with so much the more plea-  
“ sure that they are not enjoyed by one man,  
“ but by many. It were easy to correct faults  
“ where they exist; but the mistake of modern  
“ writers is, that they attack not only the  
“ abuses but these establishments themselves,  
“ and that by false reasoning, by which they  
“ lead men’s minds astray, whilst they imagine  
“ they are speaking the language of jus-  
“ tice and humanity.”—*Lettres sur l’Histoire*  
*de la Terre, et de l’Homme, par M. Deluc,*  
*Tom. IV. p. 72.*

My Protestant readers will, I hope, excuse me for making a few observations, in which I mean not to enter into any polemical controversy, but simply to appeal to their good sense for the truth or falsehood of my remarks.

We have seen, in the foregoing pages, that, notwithstanding the favourable reception which the Christian religion met with in Scotland, by reason of frequent wars, ancient habits of the nation, and the natural proclivity of corrupt nature, all ranks of the people frequently



relapsed into great immorality and disorder ; that many of the clergy who ought to have sedulously instructed and admonished the laity, and to have been the patterns of their flocks by the purity and innocence of their lives, too often relaxed in their fervour, and partook of the amusements, the follies, and dissoluteness of the people, and that those who lived up to their vocation were unable to stem the tide of vice and wickedness.

Often, indeed, during the reigns of virtuous princes, great efforts and even laws were made for the suppression of vice, for the practice of religious duties, and living up to the maxims of the gospel. Much good resulted from the zeal of an Achaius, a Constantine, a Gregory, a Kenneth, and from the truly apostolic charity and efforts of many worthy labourers in the vineyard. Yet the example of flagitious princes, the neglect of the watchmen, the disorders of war, and many unfortunate circumstances, often plunged the nation again into the most deplorable ignorance and flagrant crimes: Witness the hideous portrait that Turgot draws, in his report to Queen Margaret, of the state of the kingdom.

We have also seen the astonishing reformation, in church and state, which, under God, was wrought by that pious queen and her excellent husband throughout the whole realm.



Instead of quarrels, feuds, and murders, unanimity, concord, and charity; in place of rapes and robbery, decency and security of person and property: in lieu of decayed churches, ignorant, neglectful, or dissipated clergy, a substitution of learned prelates, pious, zealous, and laborious pastors and preachers; churches built and repaired, and supplied with all decent vessels and ornaments for the service of God: new bishopricks erected, the old reinstated; the Sundays and festivals observed: Instead of barbarous customs, civilization introduced, with politeness, and improvement in the arts and sciences: the court totally reformed; the pattern of Christian education set in the royal family. All these amendments were supported and extended by their son David. Yet, in all this wonderful change for the better, no innocent blood was shed, no sedition or rebellion against the established government; no renunciation of their lawful prince; no insult offered to royal dignity; no person robbed of his lawful property; no inoffensive person expelled the kingdom; no change in the Christian faith, which had been introduced into the realm more than eight hundred years before; no new hierarchy dreamed of; no communion broken with the universal church throughout the world: no new spawn of sects; no divisions and subdi-



visions of sectaries: all the nation united in every article of their belief, joining in the same worship at the foot of the same altar, receiving the same sacraments, submissive to the same authority.

My readers already know, what I have not yet related, that in the reign of the fifth James the kingdom had fallen back into many of its former disorders. The nobility were wicked and dissolute beyond measure, turbulent, avaricious, and irreligious. The clergy, in a great proportion, were ignorant, remiss, and many even immoral. Why might not a reformation have been brought about similar to that effected under Malcolm and Margaret, and their son David, by wise regulations, and by men and means such as they employed? To reform the vices of the nobles, was it necessary to glut their avarice with goods not their own? To correct their intemperance and lasciviousness, was it requisite to afford them more ample means of gratifying those disorderly appetites? Was it the proper way to teach the common people honesty and loyalty, to encourage them to plunder and rebellion? And could they not be taught the purity and self-denial which the gospel inculcates, but by telling them that fasting and all the restraints of the old religion were folly, priestcraft, and superstition? Superstition is a word of great



latitude. Every person is apt to call that superstition in another, which he himself disapproves of, or is not disposed to follow. St Paul justly called the religion of Athens superstition, Acts xvii. 22. ; and Festus, without hesitation, deemed the Jewish law superstition, though given by God himself, and put the doctrine of Jesus upon the same footing, because he was ignorant of it—Acts xxv. 19. Many, for the same reason, term superstition all the practices of piety used in the Catholic church, as well as the austerities approved and recommended by the gospel. But after the very exalted character that Buchanan and all other historians, whether Protestant or Catholic, have given us of King David, I ask, Could any idolater merit such a character? And if the exercises of that religion, and the belief of the tenets which that sovereign held, were consistent with, and spurred him on to, the practice of such civil and moral virtues, and made him acquire such eminent sanctity, could the same belief and worship be damnable idolatry and superstition in Mary Stewart his descendant and successor? It could not, therefore, be necessary to change the hierarchy, or banish the clergy moral and immoral, who had all at least a legal and valid ordination, and surely a title to their own property. I say nothing at present of the qualifications, or of



the ordination or mission of those who immediately succeeded them. I have simply shewn a reformation of morals and of public order, with security of person and property, without disturbing the government; without altering the faith; without breaking communion with the ancient Christian churches; without robbing any person of his lawful and legally acquired goods or possessions; and without destroying the useful and highly ornamental edifices and establishments of the Scottish kingdom:—and I submit to the good sense and candour of my readers, whether this or a more recent reformation ought to be deemed preferable.



# SUCCINCT LIST

OF THE

## RELIGIOUS HOUSES IN SCOTLAND

BEFORE THE REFORMATION—FROM SPOTISWOOD.

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THE CANONS-REGULAR POSSESSED TWENTY-SEVEN ESTABLISHMENTS :

1. *Scone*, Perthshire, founded by Alexander I.—1114.
2. *Loch-Tay*, in an island of said loch, founded by ditto—1122. His queen Sybilla died and was buried there.
3. *Inch-Colme*, in the river Forth, founded by Alexander I.—1123.
4. *St Andrews*, a priory or cathedral church; same founder—1140.
5. *Lochleven*, shire of Kinross, founded by Brudeus, a Pictish king. Winton, historical poet, was prior of this place.
6. *Portmoak*, shire of Kinross, founded by Eogasch king of the Picts.
7. *Monimusk*, shire of Aberdeen.
8. *Isle of May*, Fifeshire, by King David. Dedicated to St Hadrian.
9. *Pittenweem*, Fifeshire, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.
10. *Holyroodhouse*, Mid-Lothian, founded by King David—1128.



11. *St Mary's Isle*, near Kirkcudbright, founded by Fergus Lord Galloway, in the reign of Malcolm IV. or David I.
  12. *Blantyre*, in Clydesdale, a priory before 1296.
  13. *Rowadil*, in the isle of Harries, founded by Macleod
  14. *Crusay*, in the Hebrides, founded by St Columba.
  15. *Oronsay* isle, in Argyleshire, by the Lord of the Isles.
  16. *Cambuskenneth*, Clackmannan, by King David I — 1147.
  17. *Insula Sancti Colmoci*, in Menteith, by Earl Murdoch.
  18. *Colunsay*, by the Lord of the Isles.
  19. *Rosneth*, shire of Lenox or Dunbarton, by the Earls of Lenox.
  20. *Inchmahome*, Loch of Menteith, Perthshire.
  21. *Jedburgh*, Teviotdale, by King David I.
  22. *Restennot*, in Angus, a repository of things belonging to Jedburgh.
  23. *Canonby*, a priory in Eskdale, shire of Roxburgh, before 1296.
  24. *Inchaffray*, (the isle of Masses,) in Strathern, by Gilbert Earl of Strathern—1200. Dedicated to St John the Evangelist.
  25. *Strathfillan*, Glendochart, Breadalbine, by Robert Bruce—1314.
  26. *Scarinche*, isle of Lewis, by the Macleods, dedicated to St Catan.
  27. *Abernethy*, near the mouth of the Erne, Perthshire, by Nectanus, a Pictish king.
- The Order of ST ANTHONY had only one monastery, at Leith, Mid-Lothian, now called the *South Kirk*. The houses of this order were called Hospitals, their superiors Preceptors.



## RED-FRIARS, TRINITY-FRIARS, OR REDEEMERS OF CAPTIVES.

1. *Aberdeen*, founded by King William the Lion, now Trades' Hospital.
2. *Dunbar*, shire of Haddington, by Patrick Earl of March—1218.
3. *Howston*, shire of Renfrew,—founded 1226.
4. *Scotland-Well* (*Fons Scotiæ*), Kinross, by William Malvoisine, bishop of St Andrews, before 1238.
5. *Failefurd*, Ayreshire, in the year 1252.
6. The Ministry or Cross-church of *Peebles*, by Alexander III.—1257.
7. *Dornoch*, in Sutherland, by Sir Patrick Moray—1271.
8. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, by one of our kings, date uncertain.
9. *Dundee*, Forfarshire, by James Lindsay.
10. *Cromarty*, shire of Cromarty.
11. *Lochfeal*, Ayrshire.
12. *Brechin*, Angus-shire.
13. *Lufness*, upon the Frith of Forth.

## OF THE PREMONSTRATENSES, OR CANDIDUS ORDO,

BY ST. NORBERT.

1. *Soul's-Seat*, Galloway, near Stranraer.
2. *Holywood*, Galloway, called also in the Pope's bull *Dercongall*.
3. *Whitehorn*, or *Candida Casa*, founded by Fergus, Lord Galloway, in the reign of David I. This priory afforded dean and chapter to the cathedral of that see.
4. *Dryburgh*, on the Tweed, a little below Melrose,



Teviotdale, founded by Hugh Moreville, constable of Scotland, in the reign of David I.

5. *Tungland*, Galloway, by Fergus Lord Galloway, in the twelfth century.

6. *Ferne*, in Ross, an abbacy, founded by Ferquhard, first Earl of Ross, in the reign of Alexander II.

#### BENEDICTINES, OR BLACK FRIARS.

1. *Coldingham*, Berwickshire, a priory founded by King Edgar, in honour of St Cuthbert, 1098,—formerly a nunnery.

2. *Dunfermline*, a monastery begun by Malcolm III. Ceanmore, and finished by his son Alexander I.—burial place of many kings. King Charles I. was born there.

3. *Urquhart*, Morayshire, by David I. 1124, in honour of the Holy Trinity.

#### TYRONENSES, FROM TYRONNE, IN THE DIOCESE OF CHARTRES.

1. *Kelso*, shire of Roxburgh, by King David I.—1128.

2. *Lesmahagow*, Clydesdale, by King David I. in 1140.

3. *Kilwinning*, in Cunningham, a few miles north of Irvine, founded by Hugh Moreville, constable of Scotland—1140.

4. *Aberbrothick*, Forfarshire, by King William the Lion—1178.

5. *Fyvie*, upon the Ythan, Buchan, by Fergus earl of Buchan—1179.

6. *Lundores*, in the forest of Ernside, on the river Tay, Fifeshire, by David earl of Huntingdon, brother to King William, upon his return from the Holy Land—1178.



THE ORDER OF CLUNY, OR REFORMED BENEDICTINES,  
HAD,

1. *Paisley*, Renfrewshire, founded by Walter, son of Allan, Lord High Steward of Scotland, in the year 1164.
2. *Feale*, in Kyle, Ayrshire, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin,—founder unknown.
3. *Crossraguel*, in Carrick, Ayrshire, parish of Kirkoswald, founded by Duncan, son of Gilbert earl of Carrick,—1244.
4. *Icolmkill*, in the isle of Hyona, Argyleshire, founded by St Columba, 565,—himself first abbot.

THE CISTERTIANS, OR BERNARDINES, OR WHITE  
MONKS,—HAD,

1. *Melross*, or *Melrose*, in the shire of Teviotdale,—was an old nunnery in the time of the Saxons, mentioned by Ven. Bede, 664. David I. finding the monastery decayed, laid the foundation of a new building, which he bestowed upon Cisterrians from Rievall—1136.
2. *Newbottle* on the river South-Esk, Mid-Lothian, is an abbey founded by King David I. in 1140.
3. *Dundrennan*, an abbey on the Solway Frith, about two miles from Kirkcudbright in Galloway, was founded by Fergus Lord Galloway,—1140.
4. *Holm*, or *Holmcultram*, or *Harehope*, twelve miles from Carlisle, founded by Prince Henry, son of David I.—1150.
5. *Kynloss*, or *Kilflos*, an abbey founded by King David I.—1150. It stood at the head of a loch at the mouth of the river Findhorn, Moray.
6. *Coupar* in Angus, founded by Malcolm IV.—1164.



7. *Glenluce*, Galloway, founded by Rolland Lord Galloway and Constable of Scotland—1190.
8. *Saundle*, or *Sadael*, Cantyre, Argyleshire, an abbey founded by Reginald, son of Somerlede Lord of the Isles,—1160.
9. *Culross*, upon the Frith of Forth, Perthshire, diocese of Dunblane, founded by Malcolm earl of Fife—1217.
10. *Deer*, in Buchan, on the Ugie, founded by William Comyn earl of Buchan—1218.
11. *Balmerinach*, in Fifeshire, a beautiful abbey, begun by Alexander II. and finished by his mother Emergarda—1229.
12. *Sweetheart* or *Newabbey*, Galloway, founded by Dornagilla or Dervorgilla, daughter of Allan Lord Galloway, niece to David earl of Huntingdon and spouse of John Baliol, whose heart was enclosed in the walls of that church—1269. The abbey was probably built several years previous.
13. *Machline*, in Kyle, Ayrshire, founded by David I. or by the Stewarts.

OF THE MONKS OF VALLIS CAULIUM, OR VAL-DES-CHOUX.

1. *Pluscardine*, in Moray, a priory founded by King Alexander II.—1230.
2. *Beaulieu*, in Ross, a priory founded by James Bisset, Esq.—1230.
3. *Ardchattan*, in Lorn, Argyleshire, a priory founded by Duncan Mackoul, ancestor to the Macdougalls of Lorn—1230.

The CARTHUSIANS possessed only one establishment in Scotland, viz. *Monasterium Vallis Virtutis*,



—near Perth, founded by king James I. after his captivity in England—1429.

The GILBERTINES, or Religious of Simpringham in Normandy, had only one monastery in Scotland, viz. *Dalmultin*, upon the river Ayr, founded by Walter third Lord High Steward, about 1230.

THE KNIGHTS-TEMPLARS HAD SEVEN HOUSES IN  
SCOTLAND :

1. The *Temple*, near the river South-Esk, Mid-Lothian, founded by king David I.
2. *Aboyne*, Aberdeenshire, with a considerable estate.
3. *Maryculter*, Kincardineshire, a residence for these knights.
4. *Oggerstone*, Stirlingshire, a fort and barony, by David I.
5. *St Germans*, East-Lothian.
6. *Tulloch*, in Aberdeenshire, near Pananich Wells.
7. *Inchynan*, Renfrew, with other places in Eskdale.

The KNIGHTS of ST JOHN of JERUSALEM, after the suppression of the Knights-Templars in 1312, got most part of their lands; such were the churches, castles, and tythes of Tulloch, Aboyne, Inchynan, Maryculter, with the hospitals of St Germans, Balantrodoch, and Kilbartha, with the lands and pertinents.

THE DOMINICANS, OR BLACK FRIARS, HAD FIFTEEN  
ESTABLISHMENTS :

1. *Edinburgh*, on the present site of the High School, by Alexander II.—1230. They had also the street still called Blackfriar's Wynd.
2. *Berwick-on-Tweed*, also founded by Alexander II.—1230.



3. *Ayr*, founded by William, bishop of St Andrew's—1230.
4. *Montrose*, Forfarshire, founded by Sir Allan Durward—1230.
5. A monastery near the walls of *Perth*, by King Alexander II.—1231.
6. At *Aberdeen*, a monastery founded by the same Alexander II.
7. *Elgin*, Morayshire, founded by the said king—1233.
8. A monastery near the walls of *Striveling*, or *Stirling*, by the same—1233.
9. *Inverness*, founded by Alexander II. 1233, confirmed by David II.
10. A convent at *Wigton*, founded by Dornagilla, daughter of Alan Lord Galloway—1267.
11. At *Dundee*, founded by Andrew Abercromby, burghess of that town.
12. At *Coupar* in Fife, by the Macduffs earls of Fife.
13. *St Monans*, Fifeshire, a priory founded by King David II. upon the 3d of April, the 40th year of his reign.
14. At *St Andrew's*, founded by William Wishart, bishop of that city. King James annexed to it that of Coupar and Monans.
15. At *Glasgow*, a convent founded by the bishop and chapter of that city, in the year 1270.

GREY-FRIARS.—1st, THE CONVENTUALS OF THAT  
ORDER HELD,

1. *Berwick*, upon the Borders.
2. *Roxburgh*, in Teviotdale, at the confluence of the Tweed and Teviot, before 1235.



3. *Dumfries*, upon the Nith, founded by said Dornagilla. In that church Robert Bruce killed Comyn—1305.
4. *Dundee*, founded by the said Dornagilla. Lady Beatrix Douglas, relict of William earl of Errol, gave to these friars L.100 Scots per annum, for which they and their successors were obliged to say a daily mass.
5. *Haddington*. It was called for its beauty *Lucerna Laudoniæ*. It was damaged by a great flood in 1421.
6. *Lanark*, in Clydesdale, founded by Robert Bruce, 1314.
7. *Kirkcudbright*. Brother John Carpenter, of this house, was an excellent engineer. He fortified the castle of Dunbarton, for which David II. settled on him an annuity of L.20 Sterling.
8. *Inverkeithing*, Fifeshire. John, son of Lord Gray, was here professed,—lived to a great age,—retired to Brussels at the Reformation, and was murdered there, in the church of Franciscans, by the soldiers of the Prince of Orange.

## 2. OBSERVANTINES OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER, HELD,

1. A convent at *Edinburgh*, founded by the citizens, 1446.
2. Ditto at *St Andrew's*, founded by James Kennedy, bishop—1478.
3. Ditto at *Glasgow*, founded by John bishop of Glasgow—1476.
4. In the middle of *Aberdeen*, founded by the citizens, 1450.
5. At *Ayr*, founded by the inhabitants of that town, 1472.



6. At *Perth*, near the south wall, founded by Lord Oliphant—1460.
7. A convent at *Stirling*, founded by James IV. in 1494.
8. In *Elgin* in Moray, upon the Lossie, by John Innes—1479.
9. At *Jedburgh*, west side of the Jed, by the citizens, 1213.—There lived Adam Bell, author of the *Rota Temporum*.

THE CARMELITES HAD NINE ESTABLISHMENTS :

1. *Tullilum*, near Perth, built by Richard, bishop of Dunkeld—1262.
2. *Dunbar*, East-Lothian, by Patrick earl of March, 1263.
3. *Linlithgow*, built by the citizens, and consecrated to the Blessed Virgin—1290.
4. *Quensferry*, West-Lothian, founded by the Laird of Dundas, and consecrated to the Blessed Virgin—1230.
5. *Aberdeen*, founded by Philip de Arbuthnot of that ilk—1350.
6. *Irwine*, on the water of Irwine by the Laird of Fullerton,—1412.
7. *Banff*,—the founder and date uncertain.
8. *St Andrew's*,—very uncertain as to its date, founder, &c.
9. *Greenside*, at the foot of the Calton crags, near Edinburgh, by the Provost and Council of the City, dedicated to the Holy Cross—1526.

NUNNERIES.

1. The chanonesses of ST AUGUSTINE, had a nunnery in *Hyona*, consecrated to St Oranus,—date uncertain.



2. The DOMINICAN NUNS, reformed by St Catharine of Sienna, had their dwelling about a quarter of a mile from Edinburgh, at a place corruptedly called *Sheens*, from St Catharine of Sienna, to whom it was dedicated. The house was founded by Lady Roslin, Countess of Caithness.

THE BENEDICTINE NONNERIES WERE,

1. *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, founded by King David I.
2. *Carlisle*, in the county of Cumberland, in honour of St Bartholomew, by King David I.
3. *Halyston*, near Berwick, founder and date uncertain.
4. *Dalmulin*, Ayrshire, by Walter, Lord High Steward of Scotland.
5. *Lincludin*, near Dumfries, founded by Uthred, father of Rolland, Lord Galloway, in the reign of Malcolm IV. This nunnery was afterwards changed into a college or provostry by Archibald the Grim, earl of Douglas and lord of Galloway.

THE BERNARDINE OR CISTERTIAN NUNS HELD,

1. *Berwick-upon-Tweed*, founded by King David I. who endowed it with considerable revenues.
2. *St Bothan's*, Berwickshire, amongst the hills of Lammermuir, founded by the Countess of March in the reign of William the Lion.
3. *Three Fountains*, in Lammermuir, by David I.
4. *Elbottle*, on the Frith of Forth, Haddingtonshire.
5. *Gulane*, on the said frith, East-Lothian, by David I.
6. *Coldstream*, on the Tweed, Berwickshire, founded by Cospatriek earl of March, before the year 1166.
7. *Eccles*, Berwickshire, founded by said Earl—1155.



8. *Manuel*, near Linlithgow, on the water of Avon, founded by Malcolm IV. 1156, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.
9. *Haddington*, founded by Ada, countess of Northumberland, and mother of Malcolm IV., in the year 1178.
10. *North Berwick*, East-Lothian, by Malcolm, son of Duncan earl of Fife,—1216.
11. *Elquhow*, in Strathern upon the Tay, by David Lindsay of Glenesk.
12. *St Leonard*, near Perth, founded before 1296.
13. The *Nuns of St Mary's Wynd*, Edinburgh.

The poor *Clares* had a house at Aberdour, Fifeshire, and another at Dundee. Little mention is made of either. The nunnery of Coldingham, where St Ebba was abbess, is the oldest of all in Scotland. We know not of what order it was.

**COLLEGIATE CHURCHES** are governed by a DEAN or PROVOST. Their institution was for performing Divine Service, and celebrating Masses for the Souls of the Founders and Patrons, or their Friends. Of these there were thirty-three, which, in alphabetical order, are :—

1. *Biggar*, shire of Lanark, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and founded by Malcolm Lord Fleming in the reign of James V.
2. *Botham*, East-Lothian, founded by Hugh Gifford Lord Yester—1418.
3. *Bothwell*, in Clydesdale, founded by Archibald the Grim, earl of Douglas and lord of Galloway—1398.
4. *Carnwath*, in Clydesdale, by Sir Thomas Somerville—1424.



5. *Corstorphin*, Mid-Lothian, dedicated to St John Baptist, founded by Sir John Forrester of Corstorphin—1429.
6. *Carail*, Fifeshire, at the desire of the Prioress of Haddington.—1517.
7. *Crichton*, Mid-Lothian, by Sir W. Crichton, 1449.
8. *Dalkeith*, Mid-Lothian, by James Douglas earl of Morton, in the reign of James V.
9. *Dirleton*, East-Lothian, by Sir W. Haliburton, 1444.
10. *Dunbar*, East Loth., by Geo. earl of March, 1392.
11. *Dunbarton*, by Isabel countess of Lennox and dutchess of Albany—1450.
12. *Dunglass*, East Lothian, by Sir Alexander Home of that Ilk—1450.
13. *Foulis*, in the shire of Angus, by Sir Andrew Gray, reign of James II.
14. *St Giles*, Edinburgh, formerly a parish church, of which the abbot of Scone was patron. Erected into a collegiate church by King James III. 1466.
15. *Guthrie*, Forfarshire, by Sir David Guthrie of that Ilk, in the reign of King James III.
16. *Hamilton*, Clydesdale, by Sir James Hamilton of Cadzow, ancestor to the Duke of Hamilton, 1451.
17. *Kilmaurs*, Ayrshire, by Sir William Cuninghame, 13th May 1403.
18. *Kilmund*, Argyleshire, in honour of St Mundus, abbot, by Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, ancestor of the Duke of Hamilton—1442.
19. *Kirkheugh*, St Andrew's, on a rock called the Lady's Craig.
20. *Lincluden*, at the confluence of the water of Cluden with the Nith. Changed into a provostry by Archibald the Grim, earl of Douglas, in the reign of King Robert III.



21. *St Mary in the Fields* stood where now stands the college of Edinburgh.
22. *Methven*, near the river Almond, Perthshire, founded 1433, by Walter Stewart earl of Athol, a son of King Robert II.
23. *Minnihole*, in Carrick, by Sir Gilbert Kennedy of Dunnure—1441.
24. *Restalrig*, Mid-Lothian, founded in honour of the Holy Trinity and the B. Virgin, by K. James II.
25. *Roslin*, Mid-Lothian, by William earl of Orkney and Caithness—1446.
26. *Royal Chapel of Stirling*, erected by Pope Alexander VI. at the desire of King James IV., who began his reign 1488.
27. *St Salvator's College*, St Andrews, by James Kennedy, bishop—1458.
28. *Seton*, East-Lothian, by George second Lord Seton, 20th June 1493.
29. *Semple*, Renfrewshire, by John Lord Semple, 1505.
30. *Tain*, Ross-shire, by Thomas, bishop of Ross, 1481.
31. *Trinity College*, Edinburgh, founded by Queen Mary of Gueldres, mother to K. James III. who died at Edinburgh, and was here buried, 1463.
32. *Tullibardine*, Strathern, in honour of our Blessed Saviour, by Sir David Moray, ancestor to the Duke of Athol—1446.
33. *Yester or Zester*, East-Lothian, by Sir William de Haya of Locherwood and Zester, ancestor to the Marquis of Tweeddale—1420.

Of these Collegiate Churches, the patronage of eleven only belonged to the king.

**HOSPITALS** were erected either for receiving Strangers or for maintaining Poor and Infirm Persons. In Scotland these were :



1. *Aberdeen*, founded by Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen, for the maintenance of twelve poor men, to whom, besides other donations, he bestowed the yearly sum of L.100—anno 1531.
2. *Ballincrief* or *Bancrief*, Mid-Lothian, dedicated to St Cuthbert.
3. *Brechin*, Forfarshire, by “William de Brechin pro salute animarum Wilhelmi et Alexandri Regum Scotiæ, Joannis Comitis Cestriæ,” &c.
4. *Edinburgh*, in Bell’s Wynd, called *Maison Dieu*.
5. *Endam*, in Roxburghshire, by the Edmonstones of Ednam.
6. *St Germans*, East Loth. founder and date uncertain.
7. *Glasgow*, in which there were waiting-maids to attend the sick, as mentioned in the Chart. of Paisley.
8. *Houston*, called the Hospital of the Holy Trinity.
9. *Holywood*, Galloway, by Archibald the Grim, earl of Douglas; confirmed by Robert II.
10. *St James*, at the end of Stirling bridge, belonging to Cambuskenneth.
11. *Kincardine-o’Neil*, mentd. by Prynn, before 1296.
12. *Kingcase*, near Ayr, founded by King Robert Bruce for eight leprous persons,—eight bolls of meal and eight marks Scots are the annuity for each.
13. *Lanerk, St Leonard’s Hospital*, given to the Dalziels of Carnwath by King Robert III.
14. *Lauder Hospital*, Berwickshire, near the river Leader.
15. *St Leonard’s*, Tweeddale, charter of King James I. 25th July 1427.
16. *St Leonard’s*, between Edinburgh and Dalkeith, founded by Robert Ballantine, abbot of Holyroodhouse, for seven poor distressed persons.
17. *Ligertwood*, Berwicksh. an hospital of long standing.
18. *St Mary Magdalen*, West Lothian. Grant of King James I. to Robert de Lynton—1276.



19. *Newburgh*, in Buchan, by Alexander earl of Buchan, in the reign of King Alexander III.
20. *St Nicolas*, near the bridge of Spey, by one of the bishops of Moray.
21. *Rothfan*, Moray, for sustaining seven leprous persons—1226.
22. *Roxburgh*, Teviotdale, called *Maison Dieu* of Roxburgh.
23. *Rutherford*, upon the Tweed, Roxburghshire. This hospital was dedicated to St Mary Magdalene, and given by Robert III. to the abbacy of Jedburgh, upon condition of maintaining a chaplain to pray for his soul and the souls of his ancestors kings of Scotland, dated Glasgow 1396.
24. *Senewar*, probably at the town of Sanquhar, Dumfries-shire.
25. *Soltra*, or *Soutra*, Mid-Lothian, by Malcolm IV. in 1164, for relief of pilgrims and sickly people.
26. *Spittels*, near the port of St Mary's Wynd in Stirling, founded by Robert Spittel, tailor to King James IV. for the relief of decayed merchants and tradesmen.
27. *Sugden*, upon the river Tay, Perthshire.
28. *Turriff*, Aberdeenshire, founded in the reign of Alexander III. by Alexander earl of Buchan, for twelve poor old men.

Each of these hospitals was governed by a superior, who was called Magister.

END OF VOL. I.



































Carruthers, James

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